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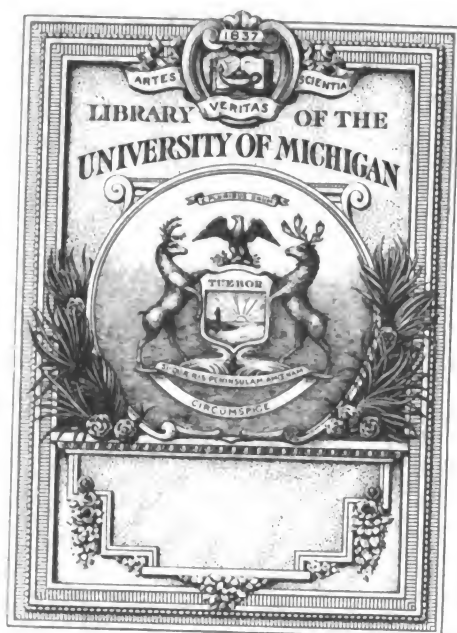
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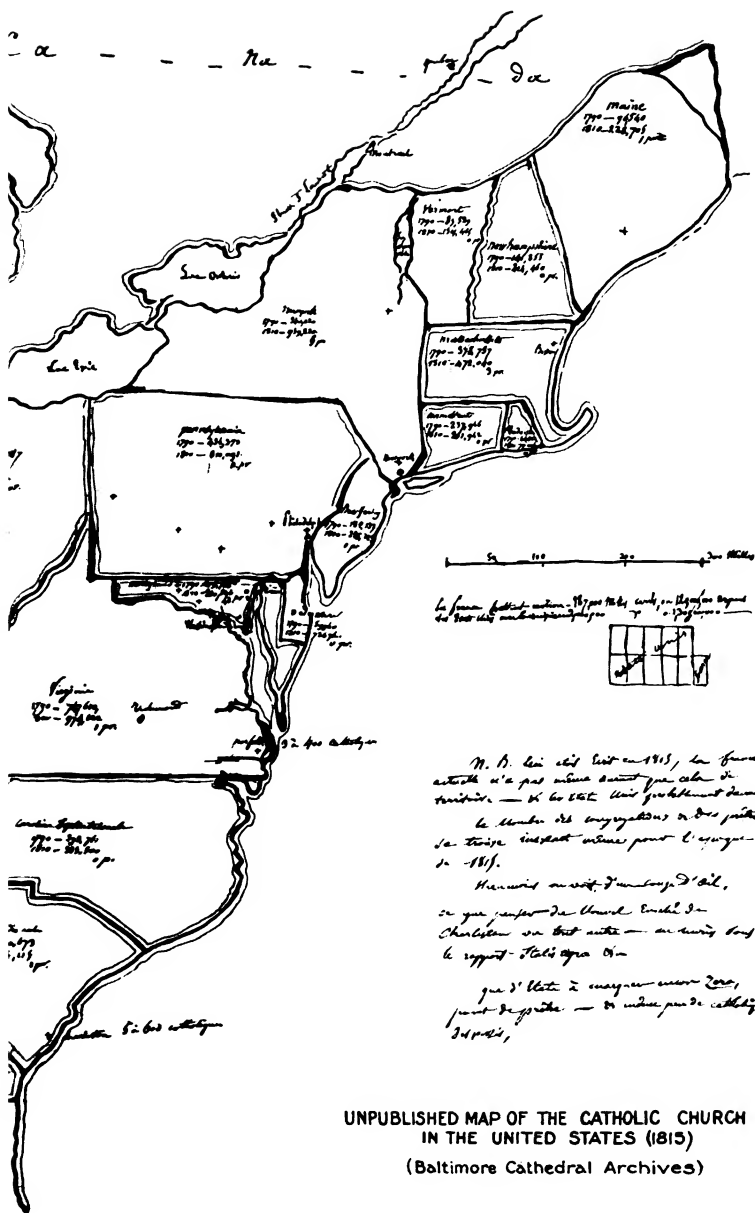
The life and times of John Carroll, archbishop of Baltimore ...

Peter Guilday



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**THE LIFE AND TIMES
OF JOHN CARROLL**



La forme actuelle de l'Église catholique aux États-Unis, en 1815, est représentée par la carte ci-dessous.



M. B. lui a été écrit en 1815, lui faire
savoir qu'il n'a pas encore de l'Église catholique
aux États-Unis. — Il lui a été écrit également de
lui donner des renseignements sur les progrès
de la religion catholique aux États-Unis.

Monsieur le Cardinal de Paris, D. D.,
je vous prie de vouloir bien lui
faire savoir que l'Église catholique aux États-Unis
est en train de se développer.

que l'Église catholique aux États-Unis
est en train de se développer.

UNPUBLISHED MAP OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH
IN THE UNITED STATES (1815)
(Baltimore Cathedral Archives)



THE
LIFE AND TIMES
OF
JOHN CARROLL



Archbishop of Baltimore
(1735-1815)

BY

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CHAPTER XXIII
THE FIRST NATIONAL SYNOD
(November 7-11, 1791)

New Year's Day, 1791, found Bishop Carroll eager to begin the great tasks which were to be accomplished for Catholicism in the United States. The first of these was to ensure the establishment of discipline in the Church. Father Reuter had not yet aroused the spirit of schism in Baltimore, but in Philadelphia and in Boston the signs of discontent were plainly to be seen. Father John Heilbron's election to the pastorate of Holy Trinity Church, Philadelphia, on March 22, 1789, by the trustees, "acting on their self-assumed right," precipitated a contest for spiritual supremacy which lasted a decade, with various periods of armistice, one of which was in January, 1790, when Dr. Carroll administered the Sacrament of Confirmation in the Church and reconciled Father Heilbron to ecclesiastical discipline.¹ That the bishop-elect foresaw the trouble which would ensue is evident from an account of the affair written to Antonelli on February 6, 1790.² The schism he predicted came later, and will form the subject of a separate chapter. It was especially the situation in the Church of Boston that gave Dr. Carroll anxiety during his absence from the United States. When he returned from England, the winter was well advanced, and the condition of the roads hardly warranted his making a personal visitation of his diocese. Apart from the stir caused by Father John Thayer in Boston, there was no need of an immediate Visitation.

The old division of the Church here into three Districts—Northern, Middle and Southern—was continued after his return. There is no document in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives to tell us whether any change was made in the reorganization of the

¹ [HEATKORN], *Retrospect of Holy Trinity Parish (1789-1914)*, p. 35. Philadelphia, 1914.

² *Propaganda Archives, Scrittura originali*, vol. 893, not folioed.

diocese at this time. At the head of each District was a vicar-general, and there was a vicar-general for the whole diocese. In the printed *Statuta* of the first National Synod, Father Francis Fleming, O. P., is named as Vicar-General for the Northern District, (Pennsylvania and Delaware, the Jerseys, New York and New England) and Father Molyneux for the Southern District. It would appear that Bishop Carroll, then in residence at Baltimore, which was in the Middle District, acted without such an official. Besides these, there was a vicar-general for the whole diocese—Father Pellentz.⁸ This management furnished an easy and effective system of government for the Church in the original Thirteen States. For the territory beyond the Alleghanies, the first resident vicar-general appointed was Dom Didier. After his departure from Gallipolis, Bishop Carroll sent the Sulpician Father Levadoux to Kaskaskia (1792), as Superior of the Missions in the old Illinois Country and as vicar-general. When the English evacuated their garrisons in Michigan (1796), Father Levadoux was directed by Bishop Carroll to take up his residence in Detroit, and Father Rivet was appointed Vicar-General of the Illinois Country. After Father Levadoux was recalled to Baltimore (1801), Father Gabriel Richard was appointed vicar-general in his stead.

In all this vast territory, the one congregation which caused concern to Carroll was that of Boston. The scandal created in the Church there by the erratic and dishonest La Poterie was augmented, as we have seen, by the unfortunate adventurer, Rousselet. In his letters from London to Antonelli, Bishop Carroll had expressed his hope that the appointment of Father John Thayer, a native of Boston, would bring peace to the distracted Church in that city.

John Thayer, the first convert from the American Protestant ministry to the Catholic faith, was born of Puritan parents at Boston in 1755. After graduating from Yale College, he became a Congregationalist minister, and as such served as chaplain to Governor Hancock of Massachusetts. During the War of the Revolution, he assisted the troops in and around Boston, and

⁸ Father Frambach is also spoken of as "Vicarius Generalis pro tota dioecesi," in the printed *Statuta*, but in the *Acta* of 1794 (*Propaganda Archives, Atti, anno 1794, ff. 443ss*), he is mentioned as pastor emeritus of Fredericktown.

when the war was over—he was then about twenty-seven years of age—he went to Europe for the sake of study and pleasure, “to learn the languages which are the most in use, and to acquire a knowledge of the constitution of states, of the manners, customs, laws and government of the principal nations, in order to acquire, by this political knowledge, a greater consequence in my own country, and thus become more useful to it.”⁴ He arrived in France towards the end of the year 1781, and remained there ten months studying the language and the system of government. He fell ill at this time and his first concern “was to forbid that any Catholic Priest should be suffered to come near me; such was my attachment to my own sect.”⁵ After visiting England, he went to Rome, by way of Paris and Marseilles. At Rome, he studied the principles of the Catholic religion “for the same reason that I should have wished to know the Religion of Mahomet, had I been at Constantinople.”⁶ A little book, entitled: *Manifesto di un Cavaliere Cristiano Convertito alla Religione Cattolica*, came to his hands, and a prayer at the beginning of the work pleased him so much that he began saying it. “When I received this book, I had a secret presentiment that it would give me the finishing stroke, and it was with extreme difficulty that I could prevail upon myself to peruse it.”⁷ The remarkable happenings when Saint Benedict Joseph Labre died in Rome so impressed him that he decided to become a Catholic, and he was received into the Church on May 25, 1783. The account of his conversion, written the following year, was printed in 1787, and was soon translated into French, Spanish and Portuguese.⁸ “I desire nothing more,” he wrote at the end of his account. “For this purpose I wish to return to my own country, in hopes, notwithstanding my unworthiness, to be the instrument of the conversion of my countrymen.”⁹ Thayer was advised

⁴ *The Conversion of John Thayer*, p. 94. (Copy used is in a little volume entitled *Catholic Tracts*, published by Cummiakay, Philadelphia, in 1837, in the Library of the American Catholic Historical Society, Philadelphia, 34.14-60.)

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁸ FINOTTI (*Bibl. Cath. Amer.*, pp. 240-247) has listed Thayer's publications. Among the acquisitions to the Connolly Library, at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., are six little copies of these accounts of his conversion, all contemporary, in various languages. (Cf. *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. v, pp. 436-437.)

⁹ *Conversion, etc.*, p. 115.

to go to Paris to begin his studies for the priesthood, and after four years at the Seminary of St. Sulpice, he was ordained in 1787. He is continually mentioned in the correspondence between Carroll and Antonelli from 1784 to 1790. For two years after his ordination, Father Thayer laboured in the London mission, and towards the end of 1789, he set out for Boston, where he arrived, *via* New York, early in January, 1790. Ten days later, he wrote to Bishop Carroll, the following letter, on the back of which Carroll wrote: "Sollicits the Superiorship of N. E. States":

Rev'd Sir: I troubled you with a letter from N. York, in which I gave you my idea of the chapel in the place. Things in this town are perhaps worse. The Catholics are exceedingly few, not above fifty or sixty at most & those are very poor for the most part. I am positive that they must have great difficulty to maintain a single priest, much less can they maintain two of us. Besides this, La Poterie (who is actually here and in poverty) has run the church so deeply in debt that it will be a long time before it will emerge from its present situation. I, therefore, wish you to place Mr. Rousselet in another parish as soon as possible or he will be in some measure useless here on account of his language; seems to be his own desire, as he has expressed it to another person tho' not to me. I suppose he will soon write to you on this head. I pray you to do this speedily or his long & Tedious disposition of the exercises at chapel might be an obstruction to my zeal & to the good which I may produce in this place. The reception which I received from the Governor, from the ministers, from my family & in fine from all classes of people is the most flattering & is an omen perhaps of good success; tho' I am prepared for you to expect opposition. I wish you, Sir, to be kind enough to send me an express permission to duplicate at discretion, likewise, a directory as you've altered it—English one. . . .

I once more beg you not to put me in shackles by permitting any priest to officiate in the N. England States unless authorized by me. In this town especially one priest is sufficient at present. My reason for mentioning this so often is the fear lest religion, which is at present at an ebb—shall suffer from some intruder. I should wish for an authentic paper in Latin from you constituting me superior of the mission in N. England under you, which I might be able to show to every arriving priest. I suppose, Sir, you believe my intention so pure as not to wish this from desire of domination or superiority.

I've said, Sir, Mr. Rousselet is long & tedious in disposing his chapel exercises; e. g., on a week day of obligation, when people can hardly find time for a low mass, he'll say or sing two litanies, four prayers & give benediction in the morning, & in the afternoon he'll have vespers, benediction, & a spiritual reading, tho' only four or five people can attend

& cannot understand one word out of four which he says. Some have told him he keeps them too long in the cold, & he answers we might never think it too long to be in God's House.¹⁰

Hancock, whom he had served as chaplain, was again Governor of the State; and John Adams, who received Thayer at Auteuil in 1785, was President of the nation. The convert priest was at first kindly received by all, Catholics and non-Catholics. The city numbered about eighteen thousand inhabitants and of these his little flock was scarcely a hundred souls. Of his reception in his native city, we have his own description in a letter dated Boston, July 17, 1790:

My Dear Friend: I reached Boston on the 4th of January last, and have everywhere been received with the most flattering attention. My own relatives expressed the greatest joy at my return. The Governor of the state, whose chaplain I formerly was, has promised to do all in his power to forward my views, and favor the work for which I have been sent to Boston. I have received nothing but kindness and attention from the ministers of the town. Many of them have visited me and evinced a degree of cordiality which I had little reason to expect. The officers of the custom house have also carried their politeness so far as to unwillingly take anything for the many large boxes which I had procured from France and England, having looked upon their contents as things designed for sacred purposes.

On the first Sunday after my arrival, I announced the word of God and all flocked in crowds to hear me. A great deal of curiosity is manifested to become acquainted with our belief, and this fair toleration allowed here has enabled me to enter into a full exposition of it.

On every occasion the Protestants evinced the same eagerness to come and hear me but they content themselves with that. The indifference and philosophy which prevail here as much as anywhere else, are an obstacle to the fruit of preaching which it is exceedingly difficult to remove—an obstacle, however, which does not in the least discourage me. I have had the pleasure of receiving a few recantations, and my dear neophytes afford me great consolation by the sanctity of their life. About a dozen of them can attend Mass daily. I am engaged in instructing a few Protestants, whom I hope to restore to our Common Mother. I recommend our mission most earnestly to your prayers. We are in want of labourers for the cultivation of the immense field which has been so long abandoned in the United States.¹¹

¹⁰ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8B-H1; printed in the *Researches*, vol. xxviii, pp. 99-100.

¹¹ Cited in the *United States Catholic Magazine*, vol. viii, p. 116. Cf. *The First American Mission to non-Catholics*, in the *Researches*, vol. xviii, pp. 41-43.

But this joy was short-lived. Father Rousselet was in Boston at the time, and Father Thayer soon realized that the French priest's presence in Boston was detrimental to the good of religion. In his letter on the sea, of July, 1790, Bishop Carroll regretfully announced to Cardinal Antonelli the disturbed state of the Church in Boston. "When I left America," he writes, "things in that mission were not very tranquil, because one part of the congregation desired to retain Father Thayer, and another part, his predecessor, and it is impossible for the two of them to be maintained. Of the outcome of this controversy, I hope to be informed in Europe." In this letter, Carroll says that Rousselet was a man of excellent character and morals. He was unaware of the priest's unfortunate mode of conduct, until after his return to Baltimore. In November, 1790, Father Rousselet's followers, during Thayer's absence, called Dr. Parker, a Protestant minister, to read prayers over one of their number who had died, and on returning Rousselet said a Requiem Mass in Dr. Parker's church.

Father Thorpe had warned Dr. Carroll, in his letter from Rome, of August 11, 1790, that Thayer would bear watching. "It will be necessary to have a priest of friendly eye over Mr. John Thayer, of Boston; his passion for more independence than any Apostle in God's Church ever had or desired, may involve himself and others in great difficulties."¹⁷ The newspapers of the day published letters in which Thayer figured as "John Turncoat," and in the conflict which had arisen between the French and Irish factions, charges and countercharges were made by the two priests, Thayer and Rousselet. On October 14, 1790, Thayer wrote to Leonard Neale, who was acting vicar-general in Dr. Carroll's absence, a strong reply to the accusations brought against him.¹⁸

After Dr. Carroll's return, the eccentric priest wrote describing the condition of affairs in Boston, and in January, 1791, Father Rousselet was suspended. From this time until the arrival of Father Matignon, August 20, 1792, Father Thayer was the only priest of the Diocese of Baltimore in New England. Early in 1791, at Thayer's request, Bishop Carroll went to Boston, where

¹⁷ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8B-K6.

¹⁸ *Cf. Researches*, vol. xvi, p. 198.



RT. REV. LEONARD NEALE, D.D.

he succeeded in making peace between the French and Irish Catholics, when they accepted Father Thayer as their pastor.¹⁴ Bishop Carroll was welcomed with profuse cordiality on this, his first visit to Boston. His personal character and his national prominence alike recommended him to the patriotic inhabitants. Hancock attended Mass in the church, as a mark of respect, and the bishop was asked to pronounce the benediction at a banquet of the Ancient and Honourable Artillery.¹⁵ Boston was at that time, of all the cities in America, the most openly hostile to the Catholic Church, but Bishop Carroll's visit was the beginning of a better feeling. Had Father Thayer been more amiable and conciliatory, there is little doubt that his mission would have proved successful. In one of his letters, June 11, 1791, written before leaving Boston, Bishop Carroll says: "It is wonderful to tell what great civilities have been done to me in this town, where a few years ago, a 'popish' priest was thought to be the greatest monster in creation. Many here, even of their principal people, have acknowledged to me that they would have crossed to the opposite side of the street, rather than meet a Roman Catholic some time ago. . . . I am very sorry not to have here a clergyman of amiable, conciliatory manners, as well as of real ability."¹⁶ Father Thayer was gifted with genius of no mediocre quality, and was a scholar as well as a wit; but, as one writer has expressed it, "not a little of the uncompromising Puritan spirit clung to him to the end."

How pleased Dr. Carroll was with the courtesy accorded to him in Boston, can be seen by the following letter to Governor Hancock:

Baltimore, Aug. 28, 1791.

Sir,

I should have great cause to reproach myself, & would deserve the imputation not only of ingratitude, but absolute insensibility, if I neglected to make my warmest acknowledgments to your Excellency for your innumerable favours, & civilities, during my stay at Boston. They were such as both astonished and confounded me: and I should have paid much sooner the tribute, which I owe your Excellency, if I could have commanded the smallest leisure since my return to Baltimore. I knew that

¹⁴ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 10-F1.

¹⁵ *History of the Catholic Church: New England States*, vol. i, p. 20.

¹⁶ *Cf. United States Catholic Magazine*, vol. viii, pp. 149-150.

your Excellency was conspicuous for civility & politeness, as well as eminent for patriotism and public services; and I had always heard, that the town of Boston was distinguished for its hospitality: But every thing was far beyond my highest expectations. When my friends here ask me the particulars of my late journey, I feel myself incapable of conveying to them adequate ideas of the friendly, the cordial, the honourable treatment, which I received from the first magistrate of the Commonwealth, & from its respectable citizens: and now that I would testify to your Excellency the grateful feelings of my heart, I experience the same inability of expressing them, as strongly as they are impressed on me.

I must take the liberty of requesting your Excellency to assure Mrs. Hancock, that I retain for her the same sentiments; that her affability and condescension have made a lasting impression on me; and that I shall be anxious for the moment, when I may again renew to both of you every testimony of my respect and veneration.¹⁷

When Father Matignon reached Boston in 1792, Bishop Carroll recalled Thayer, and in 1796 granted him an *exeat* from the diocese. From 1792 until 1803, Thayer wandered from one part of America and Canada to the other, always in difficulties and yet serene in his brave but blundering endeavour to spread the truth. We hear of him in Limerick, Ireland, in 1805, trying to induce missionaries to go out to the States at his expense; in 1807, he was at La Trappe, and was reported to have written to Rome, urging new sees in the United States. He remained most of the time in Limerick, where he died in 1815.

Some months before Carroll's arrival, Father Thayer, in an advertisement dated November 24, 1790, announced that he would preach on the week-day evenings in the neighboring towns and would answer any objections his auditors wished to make, either publicly or privately, as the objectors desired. The Rev. Mr. George Leslie, a Congregationalist minister of New Hampshire, regarded this as a challenge, and a debate was arranged for January 26, 1791. Leslie grew tired of the controversy after the opening address; and after waiting a year for him to answer, Father Thayer published his *Controversy between the Rev. John Thayer, Catholic Missionary of Boston, and the Rev. George Leslie, Pastor of a Church in Washington, New Hampshire*.

In the early summer of 1791, it was reported to Dr. Carroll

¹⁷ Printed in the *Records*, vol. xviii, p. 389.

that Thayer had said he would refuse to leave Boston, if ordered to do so by Bishop Carroll, and with a promptness that was characteristic, Dr. Carroll wrote asking for a denial of the report. On June 13, 1791, Thayer sent the following declaration of obedience to the bishop:

The subscriber having been charged with saying that he would not obey the Bishop but place himself under the jurisdiction of the Pope in case he should be ordered by the Bishop to leave Boston, hereby declares that he does acknowledge and will submit to the authority of the Bishop in case his removal should be required by him and this shall be binding on him until a general regulation respecting the power of the Bishop in removing Clergymen be settled by common consent of the American clergy.

JNO. THAYER

Boston, June 13, 1791.¹⁸

In passing through New York and Philadelphia, Bishop Carroll had an opportunity of judging the state of the Church in these two centres. The appointment of Father William O'Brien, O. P., as pastor of St. Peter's Church in New York City, gave peace and organized Catholic life to that distressed congregation, while Father Nugent's forced retirement in 1790 removed any further cause for schism. For the next twenty years, Father O'Brien kept order and harmony in the Catholic body of the city and State. In Philadelphia, the three churches—St. Joseph's, St.

¹⁸ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11B-07; printed in the *Researches*, vol. ix, p. 42; cf. Patrick Campbell to Carroll, Boston, August 31, 1791, *ibid.*, Case 2-F6. Apparently Thayer remained in and around Boston until 1794, when Dr. Carroll sent him to Alexandria, Va., where he said Mass in the house of Colonel Fitzgerald, Washington's aide-de-camp during the Revolution. Thayer's opinions on slavery were too adverse to render him very popular, and he realized that his usefulness was gone. In July, 1794, he applied for an *eseat*, but Bishop Carroll refused it, "while the diocese is in such pressing need of clergymen." In 1796, he was in New York, and a memorial from 121 Catholic laymen, requesting that he be appointed assistant to Father O'Brien was rejected by Bishop Carroll (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11-L1). A long letter dated June 21, 1796, on the neglected condition of the Church in the metropolis came from his pen to Dr. Carroll (*Researches*, vol. xxviii, p. 24); it ends with a request for an *eseat*, which Carroll sent to the erratic priest on July 5, 1796, "wishing you more solid fortune than I have been able to procure for you." After this date we find him in Quebec, as we learn from a letter sent by Bishop Hubert to Dr. Carroll, under date of November 26, 1796: "I have not given him any encouragement to stay with us" (*Records* vol. xviii, p. 179). In 1798, Thayer was back in Boston, and the next four years he spent in the missions of Kentucky. Slavery again was his undoing, and in 1803 he set out for Europe (SPALDING, *Sketches, etc.*, pp. 80-81). Cf. Leonard Brooke to Carroll, England, January 31, 1807 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-B1).

Mary's, and Holy Trinity—were progressing in a way to give the Bishop encouragement.

During the rest of the year which followed his return from England, Bishop Carroll was busy preparing for the first National Council of the Church in his vast diocese. He had an opportunity while in Philadelphia, New York and Boston, to decide upon the questions which should be brought before that assembly. A short time after his return from Boston, he issued to the priests (October 27, 1791) the official notice of the coming Synod. Dr. Carroll wrote to his friend, Charles Plowden, at this time:

On the 7th of next month our clergy are to meet here in a diocesan synod. Then we shall discuss the mode of preserving the succession to the episcopacy of the United States. Instead of a coadjutor, I am much inclined to solicit a division of my diocese and the creation of another bishoprick. One only objection, of much weight, retards my determined resolution in favor of this scheme, and that is, that previous to such a step, a uniform discipline may be established in all parts of this great continent; and every measure so firmly concerted, that as little danger as possible may remain of a disunion with the Holy See. I am very fearful of this event taking place in succeeding time unless it be guarded against by every prudential precaution. Our distance, though not so great if geometrically measured, as South America, Goa and China, yet in a political light is much greater. South America, and the Portuguese possessions in Africa and Asia, have through their metropolitical countries, an intermediate connexion with Rome; and the missionaries in China are almost all Europeans. But we have no European metropolis, and our clergy soon will be neither Europeans nor have European connexions. There will be the danger of a propension to a schismatical separation from the centre of unity. But the Founder of the Church sees all these things, and can provide the remedy. After doing what we can, we must commit the rest to His Providence.¹⁹

On the day appointed for the opening session of this historic gathering, November 7, there were present at Bishop Carroll's house in Baltimore, the following priests:²⁰

Very Rev. James Pellentz, *Vicar-General of the Diocese.*

¹⁹ BRENT, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-154.

²⁰ *Concilia Provincialia Baltimorensia habita ab anno 1829 usque ad annum 1849.* Second edition, Baltimore, 1851. The first 24 pp. of this volume contain the *Statuta* of 1791. A contemporary copy of the *Statuta* of 1791 will be found in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Letter-Book*, vol. i. In the *Atti* of 1794 (*Propaganda Archives*) these names are repeated with the location of the parishes to which the priests were appointed.

Very Rev. Robert Molyneux, *Vicar-General of the Southern District.*

Very Rev. Francis Anthony Fleming, O. P. *Vicar-General of the Northern District.*

Very Rev. Francis Nagot, *President of St. Mary's Seminary.*

Very Rev. Louis de Lavau.

Rev. James Frambach.

Rev. John Ashton.

Rev. Henry Pile.

Rev. Robert Plunkett, *President of Georgetown College.*

Rev. Stanislaus Cerfoumont.

Rev. Laurence Graessl, *Promoter.*

Rev. Anthony Garnier.

Rev. Leonard Neale.

Rev. Charles Sewall.

Rev. Sylvester Boarman.

Rev. William Elling, *Promoter.*

Rev. James Van Huffel.

Rev. Joseph Eden.

Rev. John Tessier.

Rev. Francis Beeston, *Secretary.*

On November 10, Father John Bolton, Pastor of St. Joseph's Eastern Shore, and Father John Thayer of Boston came, the latter undoubtedly being the most observed man of the group.

On the morning of the seventh, all the clergy assembled at Bishop Carroll's residence. The bishop, in his pontifical vestments, with mitre and crozier, followed the procession of the priests, who were in cassock and surplice, from his house to the pro-Cathedral, where everything necessary for the Synod had been arranged. Bishop Carroll then formally opened the Sessions with a discourse upon the meaning of the assembly. Fathers Leonard Neale and William Elling were appointed Promoters of the Synod, and Father Francis Beeston was named Secretary.

The Second Session, November 7, was spent deliberating upon the adoption of rules for the administration of Baptism and Confirmation. Many Catholics had been found who were not certain of having received these Sacraments, and others who had been baptized privately or by non-Catholic ministers, were anx-

ious that their spiritual status be settled. Rules were made for conditional Baptism, wherever necessary, and the necessity of keeping baptismal registers was impressed upon the clergy.

The Third Session, November 8, was devoted to the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist. After describing the neatness and cleanliness desirable around the altar and in the churches, the faithful were admonished of their duty to support the priests in their efforts to make the House of God worthy of the Sacrifice which takes place therein. Accordingly it was decreed that in every parish two or three men of known virtue and of standing in the community be chosen to act with the pastors as trustees of the Church. These men were to be chosen by the pastor or by the congregation. On Sundays and holy days of obligation the trustees were to have the duty of taking up the offertory collection. In parishes where no provision was made for the pastor's sustenance or for the poor, the offerings of the faithful were to be divided, according to an old custom in the Church, into three parts: one for the pastor's maintenance, another for the poor, and the third for the upkeep of the church. If the pastor and the poor were otherwise provided for, then all offerings were to go toward the church itself; for vestments and for sacred vessels. A cassock should always be worn in vesting for Mass so far as this could be done without great inconvenience. The cassock and surplice were to be worn in all other priestly ceremonies. Pastors were admonished that before admission to First Holy Communion, children should be fully instructed in Christian doctrine, and they should be urged to make a general confession of their lives up to that time. The time of First Holy Communion was not to be delayed too long, but it was thought inadvisable for children who had not reached the use of reason, to be admitted as communicants.

In the Fourth Session, November 9, the administration of the other Sacraments was considered. In order that perfect order and authority in the administration of the Sacrament of Penance be established, it was decreed that any priest within the diocese, exercising faculties for confession without the express approbation of the bishop, should incur suspension and should fall under censure; any whose faculties had been revoked, administering the Sacrament of Penance, except in grave cases of necessity, should

likewise fall under this censure. The faithful were to be warned that confessions to unapproved priests were worthless. A prohibition under pain of suspension was decreed against any priest who should leave his congregation and take up his residence elsewhere, without episcopal sanction. Stringent laws regarding the Sacrament of Matrimony, were then passed. Freedom to marry had to be proven in every case, and no one could be married until after the triple publication of the banns. No one was to be admitted to the Sacrament of Marriage unless he or she could give evidence of a passable knowledge of Christian doctrine; and in this matter, the Synod adopted the rules laid down by the council of the Church of Lima, Peru, held in the time of St. Turibius. The principal doctrines of religion which were to be known by the contracting parties, were: God the Creator and Redeemer of the world; eternal reward; the Trinity; the incarnation, death and resurrection of the Saviour; sorrow for sin; acknowledgement of God's commandments and of the Church's precepts; and love of God and of one's neighbour. Pastors were urged to exert every holy influence possible to prevent mixed-marriages. The Synod recognized the unavailability of mixed-marriages in the state of society then existent in America; and the following rules were passed to regulate these unions: (1) Catholics should be gravely and seriously admonished that great inconvenience frequently arises from such marriages, and they should be exhorted to show their Christian fortitude by restraining themselves from entering into such unions. (2) Where the pastor realized that his admonition was of no avail, he should diligently set himself to lessen the danger of perversion. (3) The non-Catholic party to the marriage should be required to promise that no obstacle to the practice of the Faith or to the rearing of the children in the true religion would be placed after marriage. (4) Pastors should proceed cautiously, for the Catholic party might be induced to have the marriage performed before a non-Catholic minister. (5) Where such seemed to be the probable outcome, the pastor was allowed to perform the marriage; but care had to be taken that no matrimonial impediment be overlooked, such as defect in baptism, consanguinity, etc. (6) These nuptials were, however, not to be blessed with the blessing prescribed in the Roman Ritual.

The Fifth Session, November 10, at which Fathers Bolton and Thayer were also present, was given to the formulation of regulations regarding divine services and the observance of holy days of obligation. Wherever possible, a *Missa Cantata* was to be sung on Sundays and holy days, and before Mass the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, to whom the diocese had been specially dedicated, was to be said. At the end of the Gospel of the Mass, the prayers prescribed for the rulers of the government and for the welfare of the republic were to be read;²¹ the Gospel proper for the day was to be read in the vernacular; notification of marriage banns, of coming feast days, and of other matters of parish interest was to be given. A sermon was then to be preached, and it should be such as would encourage and exhort the faithful to lead perfect Christian lives. In the afternoon, Vespers should be sung, and the service should be closed with Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament. This should be followed by catechetical instructions. Hymns in the vernacular

²¹ It was at this time that Bishop Carroll wrote his well-known *Prayer for the Civil Authorities of our Country*:

We pray Thee, O almighty and eternal God! Who through Jesus Christ hast revealed Thy glory to all nations, to preserve the works of Thy mercy, that Thy Church, being spread through the whole world, may continue with unchanging faith in the confession of Thy name.

We pray Thee, Who alone art good and holy, to endow with heavenly knowledge, sincere zeal, and sanctity of life, our chief bishop, N.N., the vicar of Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the government of His Church; our own bishop, N.N. (or archbishop); all other bishops, prelates, and pastors of the Church; and especially those who are appointed to exercise amongst us the functions of the holy ministry, and conduct Thy people into the ways of salvation.

We pray Thee, O God of might, wisdom, and justice! through Whom authority is rightly administered, laws are enacted, and judgment decreed, assist with Thy holy spirit of counsel and fortitude the President of the United States, that his administration may be conducted in righteousness, and be eminently useful to Thy people over whom he presides; by encouraging due respect for virtue and religion; by a faithful execution of the laws in justice and mercy; and by restraining vice and immorality. Let the light of Thy divine wisdom direct the deliberations of Congress, and shine forth in all the proceedings and laws framed for our rule and government, so that they may tend to the preservation of peace, the promotion of national happiness, the increase of industry, sobriety, and useful knowledge; and may perpetuate to us the blessing of equal liberty.

We pray for his excellency, the Governor of this State, for the members of the Assembly, for all judges, magistrates, and other officers who are appointed to guard our political welfare, that they may be enabled, by Thy powerful protection, to discharge the duties of their respective stations with honesty and ability.

We recommend likewise, to Thy unbounded mercy, all our brethren and fellow-citizens throughout the United States, that they may be blessed in the knowledge and sanctified in the observance of Thy most holy law; that they may be preserved in union, and in that peace which the world can not give; and after enjoying the blessings of this life, be admitted to those which are eternal.

Finally, we pray to Thee, O Lord of mercy, to remember the souls of Thy servants departed who are gone before us with the sign of faith, and repose in the sleep of peace; the souls of our parents, relatives, and friends; of those who, when living, were members of this congregation, and particularly of such as are lately deceased; of all benefactors who, by their donations or legacies to this church, witnessed their zeal for the decency of divine worship and proved their claim to our grateful and charitable remembrance. To these, O Lord, and to all that rest in Christ, grant, we beseech Thee, a place of refreshment, light, and everlasting peace, through the same Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

were also prescribed for divine service. Where but one priest resided in the parish, he should carry out these regulations as far as possible. After Mass, the whole congregation should recite with devotion, in the vernacular, the *Our Father*, the *Hail Mary*, the *Apostles' Creed*, and the *Acts of Faith, Hope and Charity*. The children and others who needed the same, were to be kept after Mass for instruction in the catechism.

The next canon is worthy of record:

At the beginning of our episcopate, we have been impelled by an ardent desire of naming the Blessed Virgin Mary the principal patroness of our diocese, in order that, by Her intercession, faith and love of God, and sanctity of life among the people committed to our care may flourish and increase more and more. We were consecrated first Bishop of Baltimore on the feast of the Assumption, and led therefore to honour Her as our Patroness, we exhort our venerable confreres to venerate Her with a great devotion and often and zealously to commend this devotion to their flocks, so that by Her powerful patronage, they may be preserved from all evil.

The Sunday within the octave of the Assumption was made the principal feast of the diocese. In order to stimulate the devotion of the faithful, Bishop Carroll stated that he would ask of the Holy See abundant spiritual favours for all those who should receive the Sacraments of Confession and Communion on that feast.

The difficulty experienced by Catholic merchants and labourers in attending Mass on holy days of obligation was dealt with, and each pastor was asked to use his own judgment in arranging for Mass at a convenient time, if it was possible. Rules and regulations for clerical life were decided upon, and the clergy were ordered, according to the Tridentine canons, to wear clothes becoming their station. Black was the prescribed color. The ecclesiastical law regarding domestic life in the presbyteries was to be strictly enforced and the vicars-general were to see to it that this ruling be diligently observed.

On account of the increasing number of Catholics and their scattered condition in the diocese, the priests were called upon to perform almost heroic labours in order to minister to their people; this required abundant support for the maintenance of priests and of churches. The faithful were admonished, there-

fore, of their grave obligation in this respect. This obligation Bishop Carroll intended to treat in a separate Instruction or Pastoral, to be issued at the close of the Synod.

The Paschal precept was to be rigorously enforced, and all Catholics who failed to comply with the regulation of approaching the Sacraments during that season were to be refused Christian burial. Judgment, however, in all such cases, lay with the bishop or vicars-general, who were to be consulted. Where this could not be done, the pastor was to follow his own judgment and exercise all prudence in making his decision. All such cases were to be treated with the utmost charity and according to the circumstances peculiar to each case. The spirit of the Church was to encourage the living to follow the laws of God rather than to punish the dead.

The closing sermon, delivered by Father John Ashton, has never been published, so far as could be ascertained, and it is so truly a picture of the times, that it is given here, without change, from the manuscript copy in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives:

But be thou vigilant, labour in all things; do the work of an evangelist; fulfil the ministry, be sober.—II Tim., ch. IV, v. 5.

The injunction of St. Paul to his disciple Timothy, which I have just now cited, did not originate from an apprehension, or suspicion of any want of zeal, or deficiency of duty in the execution of the trust committed to him, but from a paternal solicitude on the side of ye apostle to have the great work of the ministry faithfully executed by all who were entrusted to that charge. He foresaw that "there would be a time, when mankind would not hear sound doctrine, but according to their own desires would heap to themselves teachers having itching ears; that they would turn away their hearing from the truth, but would be turned to fables." He well knew that the only preservative against such pestiferous doctrine, was the salutary and sound food of evangelical truth to be administered by his successors in due season. "Preach the word, be instant in season, out of season, reprove, intreat, rebuke with all patience and doctrine."

It is in the same sense, Rev. Gentn. and Brethren, that I address myself to you on the present occasion. If there ever was a time for the Pastors of Christ's flock to use extraordinary vigilance and care, it must be when we see those very times come, which the Apostle speaks of; when error has supplanted sound doctrine, when the fables of pretended philosophy have eclipsed evangelical wisdom, and mankind intoxicated with the enthusiasm of liberty will not submit to the sweet yoke of Xst. But as faith

without good works dies within itself, and becomes unprofitable, so will the preaching of the word of life be of no account unless supported by a virtuous and exemplary conduct, corresponding with the doctrine that he undertakes to inculcate into others. A teacher of divine truths has a double task, to accomplish the end of his ministry; he must make the truth known, and he must walk in the way that he makes known. He is the light and also the guide: and as Xst said, that he was the Way, the Truth, and Life itself, so must the minister be the way, by his example, the truth by his doctrine, and life itself by the expectation of the reward, which in Xst's name he promises to all them that follow his directions and admonitions. In two points of view therefore do I behold the whole duty of a minister of God's Church; he is to aim at his own sanctification, and he is to aim at the sanctification of his neighbour. These two duties are so correlative that the one gives assistance to the other; so that the means by which he advances in sanctity himself, help also to sanctify his neighbour; and by aiming at the sanctification of his neighbour, he necessarily advances in sanctity himself. Behold the subject of my discourse to you on this solemn occasion.

It is a truth, my Brethren, not to be called in question, that however lawful it may be on occasions, to expose our life to danger, there is no case in which it is ever permitted to hazard our salvation. "For what does it avail a man, says Xst, to gain the whole world if he comes to lose his own soul?" The eternal and unalterable law of Charity and wisdom therefore dictates to every man, whatever station of life he may occupy, to look first to his own safety before he provides for the safety of others. Though the Providence of God watches over them who are employed in his service, yet his goodness provides not only the means necessary to obtain the end we labour for, but also the assistance we stand in need of in the exercise of our duty; now this assistance which God gives us, are the graces by which he means to sanctify us in our state of life, and to which we must be ready to correspond, in the order in which they are distributed to us. The Ap. St. Paul, that gospel of election, chosen by God to carry his name before the nations and kings, was so sensible of this truth that he tells us with respect to himself, "that he should become a reprobate himself" by neglecting to subdue his passions and improve the stock of virtue which he had acquired. It was neither his learning, nor his gift of tongues, nor his knowledge in Prophecies, nor his faith if it had been such as to move mountains, that he depended on; for he was sensible that these were gifts for the benefit of others; but Charity he knew was a virtue that benefited himself; a virtue that included all other virtues, a virtue that has no bounds, a virtue that when duly cultivated produces fruits of justice, piety, sobriety, humility, mortification, patience, chastity, and obedience. These virtues, Rev. Brethren, are the ornaments of an Ecclesiastic, it is from such seeds that good fruits may be expected; for whatever we sow, the same shall we reap; if we are deficient in virtue, we shall be disappointed in our expectations; whoever sows sparingly will reap sparingly, but he who sows

in benedictions will reap in benedictions. It is a matter of great affliction to our Holy Mother the Church, that the ministers whom she employs, and who are daily occupied in the Divine Service, should be so little attentive, to this great point of sanctifying and perfecting themselves; I speak as I feel: and knowing my own deficiency in this point, I am willing to atone for my frailty by a public acknowledgment of my guilt. Pardon me, therefore, Rev. Gentlemen, for entering into a detail of certain points, to which for a few minutes I intend to draw your attention. In the first place therefore as St. Paul says to the Heb: "leaving the word of the beginning of Xst, let us go on to things more perfect." The chief duty and office of an Ecclesiastic; is as the same Ap. says to offer daily gifts and sacrifices, first for his own sins, then for the peoples. The dignity to which we are raised by priesthood, makes us mediators between God and his people; the sacrifice intrusted to our hands is of such infinite value and effect, that we cannot approach to it without the most reverential awe, and worthy dispositions: we hold the place of angels, who offer up incense and the prayers of the Saints at the throne of God, and like them, this sacrifice should go through pure and unstained hands. But the misfortune is that habit makes familiarity and familiarity is oftentimes accompanied with disrespect. The world, even the profane world, is our censor in this point and nothing is more offensive, than to observe a want of due decorum, an indifference, a hurry resembling pain but above all a species of traffic and gain made of that which is the price of our redemption. I allow that a reasonable oblation may be received from the faithful for our intentions in this point; it would be to contradict the practice of the whole Church to deny it; for if we administer to them spiritual goods, as St. Paul says—it is but just that we should share of their carnal goods. But what I condemn is an over-solicitude for these carnal goods, which might sometimes make it appear that we set more value on them than the spiritual goods, that we administer in return. The same observation I make on the administration of the other Sacraments, and the exercise of our priestly functions. Let every species of avarice be banished; let nobody evacuate our glory in this point. Let our public discourses be tinged as little as possible with what concerns our interest, lest it be observed that it is our own selves that we preach but not Jesus Xst, and him crucified: and lest the world that is so censorious, should have reason to ask, where is their God?

The next duty of an Ecclesiastic is that of mental and vocal prayer. This, I conceive, to be the source of those spiritual treasures, from which he is to deal out so abundantly to others. For what means can there be of convincing others of the eternal truths of our religion, unless these same truths have made a strong impression on our own minds by frequent and serious reflexion? How can we enflame the hearts of others to virtue, if we are cold and indifferent to it ourselves? Sooner will a thorn bear grapes, or a thistle bear figs, than will the words of a preacher produce fruits of piety and justice in the hearts of his hearers, unless his own is first inflamed with it, from the fire of holy meditation. This

made holy David say "that in the morning his meditation should kindle up like a fire." It was from this source that he obtained those heavenly communications, those divine secrets, those sentiments of compunction, of humility and gratitude to God, of zeale for the Divine worship and the salvation of his neighbour. Besides meditation, the soul must be relieved and nourished with vocal prayer. The Church has fixed this duty on all Ecclesiastics, so that no day is exempt from its obligation. The divine office associates us to the choirs of angels, who incessantly sing the praises of God in heaven, while we mortal creatures are paying him the homage upon earth which will entitle us to join the celestial choirs. Let not use and the daily repetition, Revd. Brethren, make this duty a mere task, but considering it as a relief to mental prayer, as the balance at one end may sink, let the other always rise in due proportion. Another important point in the life of an Ecclesiastic, is a gravity and decency of outward comportment. The Ap. in his first Epistle to the Cor. says "when I was a child I spoke as a child, I understood as a child; I thought as a child. But when I became a man, I put away the things of a child." The same may be said of the life of an Ecclesiastic; having consecrated himself to God, he is no longer to consider himself as a citizen of the world; he is no longer to share in the diversions, employments or concerns of the world; but a gravity of comportment, must show itself in his speech, dress and air. In short he must put away the old man of the world and put on the new man, renewed according to Jesus Xst. He must not only crucify the flesh with its vices and concupiscenses, but must renounce to the world with its vanities and follies. This is so conformable to the spirit of humility which Jesus Xst recommended so earnestly to his Apostles, to the sentiments of St. Paul, recommending sobriety and gravity to the ministers of Xst, that it may justly be called the distinctive mark of an Ecclesiastic. "In all things (he tells Titus) show thyself an example of good works, in doctrine, in integrity, in gravity." From whence it follows that all affectation of worldly vanity in fashions of dress, elegance of furniture and equipage, extravagance and sumptuousness of living, are wholly inconsistent with the character we bear; and that humility, frugality and moderation are virtues that add ornament to the character of a minister of God: whereas a levity of manners and spirit of dissipation, a fondness of diversions and dress, a love of company and good cheer, alienate our minds from the true objects of our ministry and render us no more than sounding brass, or empty vessels in the minds of others. I shall conclude this first part of my discourse to you, Revd. Gentlemen, after saying a few words, on the daily employment of our time.

As idleness is the source of many evils in every state of life, much more is it so in an Ecclesiastical state; for it is morally impossible for an Ecclesiastic living in the midst of the world without occupation to maintain the purity of his profession. How then must such a one spend the hours of the day, who is neither addicted to prayer, nor to the study of the Divine Sciences? In frequent visits, useless conversation, parties of

pleasure, in a soft and easy life, and by that means exposed to every temptation to which idleness infallibly leads him. If in a religious state, where time is so distributed between many occupations and the eyes of Superiours are a check on the subjects, idleness be found to be the most dangerous rock to their vocation, how much more so, when a clergyman is left to himself, the master of himself and his actions, having nobody but God to direct him, who is soon forgotten, and having no coercive restraint but his duty which is easily thrown aside. An office hurried over slightly, becomes soon the burden of the day, and his life resembles more that of a professed worldling, than a follower and minister of Jesus Xst. I have laid before you the means by which an Ecclesiastic is to aim at his own sanctification; I have now to show you by what means he is to aim at the sanctification of his neighbour.

The difference between a religious state and a pastoral state (which is the one I now speak of) is that the one professing the former is thereby bound to aim at perfection, but the latter is engaged in the actual state of perfection. The nearer we approach to the example which Xst has given us, the nearer are we united to Him in perfection. Thus when Xst said to his Apostles come and follow Me, he called them to the same kind of life which he exercised himself; he not only invited them to imitate his poverty, his humility, his meekness and his sufferings, but he told them that he would make them fishers of men; that they should be associated to him in the ministry of the work which his Father had given Him to do, and should in reward thereof, sit on seats, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. Behold, Revd. Gentlemen and Brethren, the excellency and dignity of your calling! This made a venerable Father and eminent Ecclesiastical writer not scruple to say: "That of all Divine things, the most divine is, to cooperate with God for the salvation of souls." It is an employment which God has not even trusted to his Angels, but by honoring human nature with his Divine Person, He has also honoured it, with a participation of his divine commission. A minister of God therefore thus dignified, and exalted, takes upon himself three essential obligations respecting his flock. He is to feed them; he is to lead them by his example, and cure them by his labours. As to the first, it has always been considered an indispensable tie on pastors, to instruct their flocks, in the duties and obligations of their religion; to teach them the principal points of their faith, to admonish them of their faults, and to prescribe such remedies to them as may serve to correct them. "Preach the Word," says St. Paul to Tim.: "reprove, intreat, rebuke with all patience and doctrine." And truly, what other means did Jesus Xst institute for perpetuating his doctrine than that of preaching: Is it not from thence that we derive the traditions of the Apostles? does not faith as St. Paul expressly tells us come from the hearing of the Word of Xst, and is not the Word of Xst made known to us by his ministers, whom he commands us to hear, saying, "he that hears you hears me?" Thus it was that the Apostles, in pursuance of Xst's command taught all nations, and we who have the honour to be their successors and depu-

ties, being intrusted with the same deposit of faith are to transmit it pure and uncorrupt to our hearers. But our ministry is not confined to the duty of preaching the articles of faith only; we are to inculcate a morality neither Pharisaically severe, nor Philosophically loose: a morality taken from the source of evangelical doctrine, supported, not by the persuasive words of human wisdom, but by the unerring spirit of God, and the practice of learned and virtuous men. Above all we must be disposed to submit our doctrine and opinions to the infallible judge, which Xst appointed to lead us into all truth. But what will our preaching avail, if not supported by example? "I have given you an example (says Xst) that as I have done so you may do also." It is not a duty in speculation, but it is a practical duty that we should preach; and to convince our hearers that it is practical, nothing will be so efficacious, as to see us practice it ourselves. Can Christian humility be taught by one, who is observed to seek praise and preferment? Can patience and forbearance be taught by one, who is observed not to bear the slightest reproach or contradiction? Can mortification be taught by one addicted to his ease and convenience? Can temperance be taught by one who is known to love company and good cheer? The same may be said of every moral virtue: But while we lay heavy burdens upon others, let it not be said that we have no inclination to stretch out a finger to support them ourselves. If virtuous example be so necessary to support the moral doctrine that we preach, how cautious must a preacher be, to avoid giving scandal or example to others. Many things are allowable to worldly people, which are totally unbecoming and forbidden an Ecclesiastic. To say nothing of those conditions in life, that are instituted for the mere purpose of worldly gain and advantage, there are certain places even, where it is scandalous for Ecclesiastics to be seen; such as houses of public diversion and entertainment; places of concourse and public gaiety; resorts of idleness; parties of pleasure and expensive entertainments. I say that the Clergy are not expected by the world to be seen at such places: Their minds are supposed to be taken up with other subjects; their time is judged to be too precious, to be so employed; their occupations are inconsistent with such worldly vanities. But if their presence alone in such places gives surprise, how cautious they must be, that neither their words nor actions give scandal to their neighbour! "Wo to the world because of scandals" (says Xst), and double wo may I add to that Clergyman, who when he should guard his flock against dangers and precipices, invites them by his example to a familiarity with them! "It were better for him (says our Lord) that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depths of the sea."

Having mentioned what a Clergyman is to avoid for the edification of his flock, I have now to say something on the labours he is to undergo to preserve them in the way of eternal salvation: and I will venture to say, that in as much as he is diligent or remiss in this point of duty, in the same degree will he see his flock improve in virtue and piety. As the Sacraments are the great sources of Grace, instituted by Xst, for our

sanctification, so it must be through their means, that the faithful are to be conducted in the way to everlasting happiness. Nothing will contribute more to this, than for their pastors to inculcate strongly into them, from their early years, the advantage and necessity of receiving them often and with due preparation. It must be owned that the most painful and laborious part of a Pastor's life consists in his diligence and assiduity in this point; but at the same time, his pains are in no instance better rewarded. To draw sinners from the ways of perdition—to preserve the just from falling into those ways; can anything be more pleasing to God? can anything be more meritorious? It is cooperating with God himself in the work of our redemption; it is peopling heaven with souls that would otherwise be eternally lost; and it is adding an immense weight of glory to our own merits. But for this end much knowledge and prudence is required on our part; we must know how to be infirm with the infirm; to rejoice with them that rejoice; to weep with them that weep; we must know how to compassionate them that are in affliction; to bear patiently with some, to reprehend others in due season, to support their delays, to study their tempers, to watch the favourable moments; in short to endeavour whether by occasion, or any other means, to gain admittance into their hearts and to pour on them the sweet ointment of God's healing grace, entrusted to us. Thus the apostle tells us, that he became all to all, to gain all to Xst. In thus treating with our neighbours, we have two extremes to avoid; immoderate severity and too great laxity. Of the two evils I judge the former to be the most pernicious; because throughout the whole life of Xst, I do not find that he rejected one sinner making application to him; but that he frequently condemned the austere morals of the Pharisees, while their hearts were embittered with malice and deceit. But while I condemn immoderate severity I am far from approving of pernicious laxity. If the blind lead the blind, the consequence is, that they both fall into a pit together. But I am happy to have to address myself to such as from serious application and long experience have no need of an instructor on this point, but who having generously engaged to labour in the Lord's vineyard, have nothing so much to heart as to gain souls to Xst, and having to encounter many crosses and tribulations, are thereby hastening their journey to heaven.

Wherefore, Revd. Gentlemen and Brethren, give me leave to address you on the words of St. Peter: "Brethren, labour the more that by good works you may make sure your vocation and election" and again "Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking care thereof, not by constraint, but willingly according to God: neither for the sake of filthy lucre but voluntarily." Behold from the Apostle the whole subject of my discourse comprehended in a few words: to labour for our own sanctification and for the sanctification of our neighbour. The same Apostle, as an encouragement to us, immediately adds, that "When the prince of pastors shall appear, ye shall receive a never fading crown of glory." Behold the end of all our labours. This was the end that we



GEORGETOWN COLLEGE--ORIGINAL BUILDING

proposed when we first consecrated ourselves to God; this the object that we ever had in view, since we first engaged to labour in the Lord's vineyard; We have experienced the difficulties, we have encountered the dangers that have presented themselves to us in the course of our labours. "In journeys often, in perils of rivers, in perils of robbers, in perils in the City, in perils in the wilderness, in perils from false brethren; in labour and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in many fastings, in cold and nakedness." All these we have experienced and many more, but which we make little account of provided we can gain souls to Xst. But if there ever was occasion for extraordinary exertions to be made by the Pastors of Xst's flock, it must be at this present time, when "The harvest indeed is great, but the labourers are few." Let us, therefore, Revd. Gentlemen and fellow labourers, exert our talents, and assiduity in the employment that God has assigned to us. If he has multiplied our labour, he has also super-abundantly multiplied his graces for our assistance. If he has given us five talents instead of one, he expects that we shall improve them and gain five more; and in reward for improving them, we may rely on hearing those comfortable words addressed to us, by Xst, our Lord and Master. "Well done thou good and faithful servant, because thou has been a faithful servant, because thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will set thee over many, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

We have now, Revd. Gentlemen and Brethren, with the blessing of God accomplished the business for which we were called to this Ecclesiastical Synod. Great thanks are due to our Most Revd. and Respectable Prelate, for the many useful regulations and points of discipline proposed for our consideration; but it is neither our concurrence nor acknowledgments that will be so grateful and acceptable to Him, as to see those same regulations carried into effect by the whole body of Clergy, committed to his care. We are happy in having a Pastor, whose whole solicitude is to preserve the flock, which Xst has entrusted to him, and whose example will be a guide to each one of us. Let us therefore benefit ourselves from so great a blessing, that by imitating his virtues and cooperating with his zeale, we may save the souls of many redeemed with the blood of Xst, and, in reward of our virtues and labours, shine like stars in heaven for perpetual eternities.²²

Before the close of the Synod, Bishop Carroll asked the priests present seriously to consider the advisability of petitioning the Holy See for a division of the diocese or for a coadjutor. "The question of the appointment of a Bishop as suffragan of Baltimore, or Coadjutor was discussed at this Synod," says Shea, "and all felt the necessity, so that in case of the death of Bishop Carroll there might be another Bishop to assume the charge of

²² *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Special C-B1.*

the diocese, without waiting for long months to send a nomination to Rome and obtain an appointment. The long voyages and slow conveyance overland in those days, rendered communication with Rome very tedious and uncertain, and in Canada the Bishop always had a coadjutor for this very reason."²³ A few days after the last session of the Synod Bishop Carroll issued a Circular on Christian Marriage:

When Christ honoured the institution of marriage by raising it to the dignity and sanctity of a sacrament, he intended to create in all who were to enter into that state a great respect for it, and to lay on them an obligation of preparing themselves for it, by purifying their consciences and disposing them worthily to receive abundant communications of divine grace. He subjected thereby to the authority and jurisdiction of his Church the manner and rites of its celebration, lest any should violate and profane so holy an institution by engaging in marriage without due consideration of its sanctity and obligations. It is judged necessary to say this, because lately some of the congregation have been so regardless of their duty in this respect, as to recur to the ministry of those whom the Catholic Church never honoured with the commission of administering marriage. The persons here spoken of, and others who have followed their example, hereby rendered themselves guilty of a sacrilegious profanation of a most holy institution at the very moment of their marriage. It must be left to themselves to consider, whether they can expect much happiness in a state into which they entered by committing an offence so grievous and dangerous to their faith.

To prevent, as much as lies in our power, a renewal of such profanation and sacrilege, you are desired, Rev. Sir, as well as our other Rev. brethren, to make known to all that whoever have lately, or hereafter shall be guilty of applying to be married by any other than the lawful pastors of our Church, cannot be admitted to reconciliation and the Sacraments, till they shall agree to *make public acknowledgment* of their disobedience before the assembled congregation, and beg pardon for the scandal they have given.²⁴

Early in the next year, 1792, Bishop Carroll issued a letter on Lenten Regulations, and on May 28, 1792, he published a Pastoral on the Synod, making known to the Catholics of the United States the rules adopted by the Synod for the regulation of church affairs. A French version of this Pastoral is in the Catholic Archives of America, at the University of Notre Dame.

²³ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 397.

²⁴ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9-E2.

Two important and far-reaching events in American Catholic life had occurred in 1791; the founding of Georgetown College and the coming of the Sulpicians. These projects kept Bishop Carroll so busy both before and after the Synod, that it was not until April 23, 1792, that he had leisure to write a report on the Synod for Propaganda. The *Acta* were, however, sent to Rome shortly after the close of the Synod. Carroll's long letter is in reality a history of the Church here from 1785 down to 1792. We shall be obliged to refer to it constantly for guidance in judging the nature and the value of the various enterprises instituted by Bishop Carroll around this time. In the part dealing with the Synod of 1791, Bishop Carroll alludes to the holding of the Synod, *autumno lapsa*, at which twenty-two priests were present. The fact that so many were gathered at his house for the meeting gave him the opportunity of speaking with them, especially with the older priests amongst them, of the prudence of asking a coadjutor for himself, or of suggesting to the Holy See the wisdom of creating another diocese. "If anything should happen to me," he writes, "my successor could not be sent to Europe for consecration without great inconvenience and expense." After deliberating with the others, it was decided that he should ask the Holy See to create a new diocese, either in Philadelphia or New York, and the division of the two dioceses ought to be the Susquehanna River. Philadelphia was the larger of the two cities, containing more Catholics and more churches, and was preferred over New York. The priest's house there was large enough for an episcopal residence. At the end of this letter he returned to the question of the appointment of a second bishop, and advised the Cardinal-Prefect that the priests, as well as himself, desired the privilege of electing the occupant of the new see or, if Rome so desired, the coadjutor of Baltimore. The priests who attended the Synod had suggested that fifteen of their number be chosen as a nominating committee for this purpose; ten of these should be those who were longest in the American mission, and the remaining five were to be selected by Carroll himself from the more prudent and worthy priests of the diocese.

At a general congregation on American affairs, held at Propaganda, August 13, 1792, the *Acta* of the Synod and this Letter-

Report on the state of the diocese were deliberated upon, and a *Relatio* on the same was prepared for Cardinal Antonelli, the Prefect. This *Relatio* is divided into two parts: the first part, subdivided into chapters, treats of all the points mentioned in Bishop Carroll's Letter-Report of April 23, 1792; the second contains a series of notes by the archivist of Propaganda, which serve as a commentary on the chapters. Chapter seven is entitled *Sinodo diocesano*, and it gives a fairly accurate description of all that took place at the Synod. Chapter eight, on the *postulata* of Carroll's letter, treats first of all of the request for a coadjutor, lest in case of his death the Church in the United States be left without a chief shepherd. The response to this request was that it seemed preferable, in place of dividing the diocese and constituting a new bishopric at Philadelphia or in New York, that the priests of the diocese choose a worthy candidate as coadjutor for Bishop Carroll.

On September 29, 1792, Cardinal Antonelli wrote a long letter to Bishop Carroll, telling him that his letter of April 23 had been read before a general congregation of the Propaganda and that all were deeply impressed with the progress he had made in organizing the Church in the new Republic. The Holy See was willing to do whatever Carroll and his clergy desired in the way of lightening his own burdens, but the appointment of a coadjutor was preferable to Rome. The Holy See decided that it would be best to have the administration of the Church in the United States dependent upon one authority. Moreover, Antonelli said, a uniform method of ecclesiastical discipline would be more surely introduced into the United States under this central authority, and the clergy could be more easily ruled. Unity for the time being would be of much more value to the welfare of souls. Two bishops, each of equal dignity and jurisdiction, would only open the door to dissensions and misunderstandings. Antonelli advised Bishop Carroll that a coadjutor might reside in any part of the diocese, and in this way the central authority of Baltimore would be preserved.

Although it was rarely granted that the priests of a diocese elect their bishop, the Holy See was willing to allow the American clergy that privilege, lest, as Carroll had pointed out in his letter, any objection should be made by the American Govern-

ment or by those who were opposed to the Church. "This Sacred Congregation, therefore, with the express sanction of His Holiness, enjoins Your Lordship to consult with the older and more prudent priests of the diocese and to propose any priest in the American mission, whom you think fit and capable; the Holy Father will then appoint him coadjutor with all necessary and seasonable faculties."

If it were only for having gained for the American clergy for a second time the permission to select one of their own number as bishop, the Synod of 1791 would have a prominent place in the history of church administration in the United States. It is not because such freedom of choice was unknown to eighteenth-century Catholicism that the letter of Antonelli deserves attention; but rather the fact that the Holy See and the broadminded Prefect of Propaganda were as anxious as Carroll and his clergy to allow no overt act to occur which might embarrass the American clergy with the Government here. At the same time there was no cringing before the young and proud American Republic on the part of the world's oldest spiritual authority.

One further incident can be connected with the Synod. Bishop Carroll signed his name as "John, Bishop of Baltimore," at the end of the Pastoral of May 28, 1792. This signature brought forth an attack by "Liberal," in one of the newspapers of the day, and Bishop Carroll immediately prepared a reply which was published on November 21, 1792, under the title *An Answer to Strictures on an Extraordinary Signature*. The letter is interesting in this sense that it shows us the fighting spirit of the man: "The subject of this contention," he writes in conclusion, "is so trifling in itself, and it affords so much room for ridicule, that if 'Liberal' take up his pen again, he must appear with something more material to engage the further attention of John, Bishop of Baltimore."²⁵

A last reference to the Synod is found in Antonelli's letter to Bishop Carroll, dated August 10, 1794, in which he congratulates Carroll on the pastoral vigilance displayed by the Fathers of this first national Synod. Certain changes, however, were deemed necessary in the *Statuta*. In the statute on Baptism the

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Case 10-Y4 (printed copy).

distinction between Catholic and non-Catholic midwives was to be omitted; infants in danger of death were to be confirmed; the *stipendia* for Masses were to be regulated according to the circumstances in America; marriages of persons coming from other parts should be carefully regulated, and the testimony of two witnesses, or of one upon oath, regarding the freedom of the parties should be exacted; in case these witnesses were unavailable, then the parties themselves should be put upon their oath as to their freedom to marry. In regard to ecclesiastical burial, the Roman Ritual was to be observed; authority was granted to dispense with the English supplement of the Missal and Breviary; and—an important fact—to remove all objections that might be made, the formula of the oath to be taken by bishops in the United States was changed, so that “in future all pretexts for carping and misrepresenting may be removed.” At the same time Bishop Carroll’s faculties were enlarged.

The Synod of 1791 has always been the object of admiration to the Catholic hierarchy of America. Years afterward, Bishop Bruté is reported by Shea to have written: “We must read over the Synod of 1791, for the form and its authority will be a good standard. In every line you see the Bishop. In all you see how extensively he had studied; and the spirit of faith, charity, and zeal in that first assembly, has served as a happy model for its successor.”²⁰ No higher tribute to the worth of this earliest American Catholic conciliar assembly could have been given than that by the Fathers of the First Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1829: “When we look back upon the circumstances of the times and conditions which existed at the period that the Venerable John Carroll, of happy memory, Bishop of Baltimore, held the Diocesan Synod of 1791, we greatly admire the zeal, prudence and learning, with which so many laws for the benefit of the Church were passed.” The value of the decrees of 1791 were of such a high nature that the Fathers ordered the *Statuta* of 1791 to be reprinted at the head of those passed by the Council of 1829.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 398.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE FOUNDING OF GEORGETOWN COLLEGE

(1789-1791)

To those who see a link between Bohemia Manor Academy and the venerable College and University of Georgetown, the half-century between the untimely end of the Academy and the founding of the college (1789) can easily be translated into a long series of plans and deliberations for the successful establishment of a school for the higher education of Catholic young men. In fact, few topics, with the exception of the legal incorporation of the clergy and the restoration of the Society, occupy a larger share in the documents from 1785 down to the year when Father Robert Molyneux, then the Superior of the restored Society of Jesus in the United States, became President of Georgetown College (1806). The three subjects (the College, Incorporation, and the Restoration) are inseparable.

It is with appropriate historic justice that the statue of John Carroll has been placed in front of the University of Georgetown; for, in spite of every opposition, even that of Father Leonard Neale, who was to become Georgetown's fourth President (1799-1806) and Carroll's successor in the See of Baltimore, Bishop Carroll carried his design for the college forward to completion. The history of the college, written by no less a master hand than that of John Gilmary Shea,¹ has its actual origin in Carroll's *Plan of Organization* of 1782, the purpose of which was the creation of ways and means tending to insure a succession of labourers in the American vineyard.² Such succession depended upon a college to train young men in the humanities, and upon a seminary to train those who should aspire to the priesthood.

¹ *Memorial of the First Centenary of Georgetown College, D. C., Comprising a History of Georgetown University and an Account of the Centennial Celebration.* Washington, 1891.

² HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, pp. 610-614.

"The object nearest my heart," he wrote Plowden, the following year, on September 23, 1783, "is to establish a college on this continent for the education of youth, which might at the same time be a seminary for future clergymen. But at present I see no prospect of success."³ Father Thomas Talbot, the Procurator of the ex-Jesuits in England, wrote to Carroll on September 21, 1784, evidently in answer to the latter's letter, and discussed provisions for a succession of workers. "I see only two ways possible," he says, "either by setting up schools and forming a seminary of your own, or depending on foreign assistance." Evidently, Carroll had inquired about the English Academy, founded at Liège in 1774 by the English ex-Jesuits, which had been erected into a pontifical seminary by Pius VI in 1778. "Liège," says Talbot, "will not be able to supply you with grown up and trained plants for the reason you allege: 'tis well if it can support long its own establishment."⁴

The prospect of a successful beginning at home was not encouraging. In his letter to Father Thorpe, February 17, 1785, Carroll's only hope of filling the depleted ranks of the clergy was to send Catholic boys to the non-Catholic colleges then being opened in several cities. He had every reason to hope, he said, "that amongst the youth trained in these different colleges, there will be frequently some inclined to the Ecclesiastical State." Carroll's *Relation* to Antonelli of March 1, 1785, refers to this plan: "There is a college in Philadelphia, and it is proposed to establish two in Maryland, in which Catholics can be admitted, as well as others, as presidents, professors and pupils. We hope that some educated there will embrace the ecclesiastical state." When the University of Pennsylvania was reorganized in 1779, Father Farmer became a trustee, under the regulation that the senior pastors of the six religious denominations in Philadelphia, should be members of the Board of Trustees. It was not long, however, before Carroll saw the inadvisability of sending Catholic boys to the non-Catholic colleges then being founded in the

³ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*; printed in HUGHES, *l.c.*, p. 615.

⁴ HUGHES, *l.c.*, p. 624. Strickland wrote to Carroll on July 25, 1786, that it would be impossible to create free burses at Liège for American students, and that none but English youths were to be granted scholarships. (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-A2.)

United States. On March 28, 1786, Father Carroll was Chairman of a meeting held at Grant's Tavern, Baltimore, for the purpose of founding a non-sectarian college in that city. In order to provide better facilities for the education at home of the youth of the town in classics and mathematics, "a school for that purpose was established through the united efforts of Rev. Dr. Carroll, afterwards Roman Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore, Rev. Dr. William West, Rector of St. Paul's parish, and Rev. Dr. Patrick Allison, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church. The venture did not prove successful, and before long was discontinued."⁵

The necessity of founding a Catholic college in the United States was generally recognized by the American clergy and laity. During the Revolutionary War, no students were sent to the Catholic colleges abroad, as formerly, and the English ex-Jesuits at Liège Academy took advantage of the peace which followed in 1783, to urge their former colleagues to send them students from America. Father Strickland wrote from Liège to this effect, and on September 13, 1786, Father Ashton, the American Procurator, replied: "I will give every encouragement in my power to well-disposed people to send their children to the Liège Academy, on the terms you propose; but as we are about to institute a school in this State, for the education of youth and perpetuity of the body of the clergy here, it may suit parents better to have their children brought up nearer to them, tho' their education may not at first be as perfect as what they would get abroad."⁶ But the cost of the voyage across the Atlantic and of the board and tuition at Liège was then too heavy for American Catholic parents. The usual aftermath of war-times, the scarcity of money and the high cost of living made it almost impossible even for families with sufficient means to incur so great an expense for the education of their sons. Father Ashton asks: "Would you for £200 sterling, one half advanced in hand, the other half at the expiration of six years, undertake to carry a boy through all his studies, and qualify him for the mission?

⁵ HALL, *Baltimore: Its History and Its People*, p. 47. New York, 1912; cf. SCHAEFF, *Chronicles of Baltimore*, p. 243. Baltimore, 1874.

⁶ HUGHES, *l.c.*, p. 638.

I mention this, because it may suit some people while they have the money by them; whereas, before the boy could get through his studies, by some turn of fortune or change of mind, the end might be frustrated” There were some Americans at Liège when this was written (1786), and there was a question whether the American Church should not continue to profit by the endowment of pious legacies and bequests which the Liège Academy possessed. The financial affairs of the English and American groups of the suppressed Society were in confusion at the time owing to the disturbances caused by the Revolution. After the War, few, if any, American young men went to Liège.⁷ There was but one way to secure higher education for them and that was the foundation of an American college. To men who had belonged to an Order famous for several centuries for its successful collegiate and Seminary training, it was natural that the thoughts of the American priests should turn towards the establishment of a house of higher studies. They were held back, however, by the fact that there would scarcely be enough Catholic young men ready to enter college and also by the more important question whether it was legal to use the revenues of the ex-Jesuit estates for this purpose. No mention of the proposed college seems to have been made officially at the First General Chapter of the Clergy (1783-84), but it was discussed informally, with the result that the priests present decided to postpone the establishment for a few years. Meanwhile they would depend upon the accession of priests from Europe to keep the congregations and missions supplied with pastors. The resolution was as follows: “That the best measures be taken to bring in six proper clergymen as soon as possible, and the means furnished by the Chapter out of the general fund, except where otherwise provided for.”⁸ Between this time and the Second General Chapter of the Clergy (Nov. 13-22, 1786), the plans for a college reached completion, and the Chapter offered a rather detailed scheme for its erection. The school was to be created “for the education of youth and the perpetuity of the body of the clergy in this country.” The plan was as follows:

⁷ Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 656-665.

⁸ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 637.

1786, November 13-22.

Proceedings of the Chapter, 13-22 Nov., 1786.

(I) *Resolves concerning the Institution of a School.*

1°. That a school be erected for the education of youth and the perpetuity of a body of the clergy in this country.

2°. That the following plan be adopted for the carrying the same into execution.

(II) *Plan of the School.*

1°. In order to raise the money necessary for erecting the aforesaid school, a general subscription shall be opened immediately.

2°. Proper persons should be appointed in different parts of the continent, West India Islands and Europe, to solicit subscriptions and collect the same.

3°. Five Directors of the school and [of] the business relative thereto shall be appointed by the General Chapter.

4°. The monies collected by subscription shall be lodged in the hands of the five aforesaid Directors.

5°. Masters and tutors to be procured and paid by the Directors quarterly and subject to their directions.

6°. The students are to be received by the managers on the following terms—

(III) *Terms of the School.*

1°. The students shall be boarded at the parents' expense.

2°. The pension for tuition shall be £10 currency per annum, and is to be paid quarterly and always in advance.

3°. With this pension the students shall be provided with masters, books, paper, pens, ink and firewood in the school.

4°. The Directors shall have power to make further regulations, as circumstances may point out, necessary.

(IV) *Other resolves concerning the School.*

1°. The General Chapter, in order to forward the above institution, grants £100 sterling towards building the school, which sum shall be raised out of the sale of [a] certain tract of land.

2°. The residue of the monies arising out of the sale of the above said land shall be applied by the General Chapter to the same purposes, if required to compleat the intended plan.

3°. That the Procurator General is authorized to raise the said sum and lay it out for the above purpose, as the Directors shall ordain.

4°. The General Chapter orders the school to be erected in Georgetown in the State of Maryland.

5°. A clergyman shall be appointed by the Directors to superintend the masters and tuition of the students, and shall be removable by them.

6°. The said clergyman shall be allowed a decent living.

7°. The General Chapter has appointed the Rev. Messrs. John Carroll, James Pellentz, Rob. Molyneux, John Ashton, and Leonard Neale, Directors of the school.⁹

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 665-666.

After the close of the Chapter, this Committee of Five, who were the directors of the school, opened a subscription for the College. On January 12, 1787, Dr. Carroll informed Antonelli that the plan of the school which he and his fellow-priests had drawn up, could be put into execution, if they could depend upon the charity of their own people and the liberality of Catholics in Europe.¹⁰ In a long confidential letter to Plowden begun at Rock Creek on January 22, and finished February 28, 1787, Carroll discussed the "two great undertakings we have now on hand, for the success of which we stand in need of every support and best advice of the friends of Religion: we have resolved to establish an Academy for the education of youth and to solicit the appointment of a diocesan bishop." The important factor in the college foundation was

a fit gentleman to open, as Superintendent, the new establishment, which we hope may be next autumn, or at the farthest, this spring twelve month. How often have I said to myself: What a blessing to this country would my friend Plowden be! What reputation and solid advantage would accrue to the Academy from such a Director! and what a lasting blessing would be procured to America by forming the whole plan of studies and system of discipline for that institution, where the minds of Catholic youth are to be formed, and the first foundation laid of raising a Catholic ministry equal to the exigencies of the country! Could the zeal of a Xavier wish a more promising field to exert his talents?

Carroll realized that it would be impossible for Plowden to leave his friends in England, and he asks him to suggest some one capable of being the first director or president of the college—"I trust this important concern almost entirely to your management."¹¹ It is evident from the letters which passed between Dr. Carroll and his friend, Father William Ashton, then at Liège, that the Americans would have been very happy to have secured the learned English Jesuit. "I think Mr. Plowden," writes Ashton, "is a most respectable gentleman, a devout historian, a fine gentleman, a polite scholar, an accurate critic. I know nobody better calculated to be at the head of a college, particularly if he had a friend whom he respected as much as I know he

¹⁰ *Propaganda Archives, Scrittura originali*, vol. 876, no. 13, f. 120.

¹¹ HUGHES, I. C., pp. 672-673. The part of the letter quoted will be found in the *Records*, vol. xix, pp. 248-249.

does you, near him, to curb a lively imagination, and to raise his courage which is too easily dejected."¹³

Ground had been given, and some slight subscriptions had come in, early in 1787, as we learn from Father Carroll's letter (to Mr. James Barry) dated Georgetown, January 25, 1787: "I have the pleasure to inform you that all your acquaintances are well and exceedingly glad to hear of your family being so. I sent to Mr. Frambach the proposals for our future academy to be communicated to you. I have the pleasure to inform you that we have flattering prospects for its encouragement. Col. Deakins & Mr. Trelkeld have joined in granting a fine piece of ground for the purpose of building."¹⁴ This piece of land, a gift from Colonel Deakins and Mr. Threlkeld, was, and still is, one of the most romantic spots along the Potomac. A few benefactors sent money donations from England, and several amounts were given by the leading Catholic gentlemen of the United States. It was not, however, until Dr. Carroll appealed in person after his consecration to some English Catholic noblemen that the real endowment of the college began, and it is worthy of notice that the list of benefactors included many of the former English Jesuits. Father Charles Plowden's name is in the list for a very substantial sum.¹⁵

Meanwhile, the opposition of some of the Southern District clergy had assumed threatening proportions, and on February 7, 1787, Carroll wrote to them from Baltimore:

Revd. Dear Sir,

The printed proposals accompanying this letter were to have been sent long ago; but Mr. Sewall [*Secretary*] could not meet with an opportunity. Be pleased to deliver one to each of our gentlemen and to those laymen who are appointed to solicit subscriptions; to whom may be added any others you judge proper. From the generous subscriptions already received, I had conceived the most flattering hopes; and persuaded myself of the active co-operation of all our Brethren in a measure, which has long been talked of amongst ourselves, and strongly recommended from

¹³ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case I-B12. Ashton to Carroll, Liège, August, 13, 1787; printed in the *Records*, vol. xix, pp. 247-248.

¹⁴ *Researches*, vol. x, p. 40 (*Georgetown College Archives*).

¹⁵ *HUGHES, I.C.*, p. 809, note 12. Dominic Lynch was authorized to receive subscriptions for the College in the New York district (cf. *Researches*, vol. v, p. 75), and George Meade and Thomas FitzSimons, for the Pennsylvania-Jersey district (*ibid.*, vol. vi, p. 144).

Europe. But Mr. Sewall received a letter a few days ago from the gentlemen of your District, reprobating the resolve of Chapter for a school; and another yesterday from Mr. Diderick very injurious to the character of his Brethren in Chapter. The gentlemen thus censured will perhaps think proper to wipe off these aspersions. As soon as Mr. Sewall showed me your District circular letter, I wrote to Mr. Leonard Neale concerning the unexpected opposition to a school, and shall here transcribe those first effusions of my heart, which were drawn from me by the earnest desire of seeing a prosperous issue of an undertaking pregnant in my estimation, with the greatest blessings. Thus I write to Mr. Neale:

"When amongst you, I conversed on the subject of a school with every one of you excepting perhaps Mr. Roels; and it appeared to be the general and unanimous opinion, that it was an advantageous and necessary measure. Indeed, your letter excepts only to the extensiveness of the plan. . . . What added to my surprise at your opposition was, that it should come from those who, in a manner so exemplary and with an affection so constant, have devoted themselves to the exercises of, and preserved such an attachment to the Institute of St. Ignatius. For, amongst all the means prescribed by him for the salvation of souls, every one who considers the past services of the Jesuits, or the present decay of religion in Europe, so generally complained of amongst young people; the great scarcity of pastors and Priests (as related to Chapter by Mr. Pellentz)—whoever considers those things must acknowledge, that the Society rendered no service more extensively useful than that of the education of youth. . . ."

So far to Mr. Neale. The great objection to the school is the appropriation of property, which is considered as an alienation injurious to the Society and a violation of justice. But, in my humble opinion, whatever other objections may be against the appropriation complained of, that of violating justice is not well founded. Do not divines teach unanimously, that death extinguishes those rights in such a manner, that they do not revive, even if the former possessor should be brought to life? 2ndly, However this may be, the property applied, either absolutely or conditionally, to the school never was the property of the Society; the events by which it lapsed to the present successor happening many years after the Society ceased to exist. Here therefore was no breach of justice. 3rdly, Were the Society existing at this moment, and in possession of the property alluded to, and, if it had been granted to her without any particular destination from the benefactor, my opinion would be, that it could not be applied to a purpose more conducive to the end of the Society. I do not expect that these considerations will entirely remove the objections of our good gentlemen of your District; but I hope their private opinions will not hinder them from exerting their endeavors for, and recommendations of the school; for surely the resolutions of Chapter are binding in matters of this nature. . . . But I

cannot conclude this without observing that if Mr. Diderick sent any letter to St. Mary's [County] in the same style and with the same imputations as in that to Mr. Sewall and Boarman, he has not only conceived unfounded prejudices of, but has greatly misrepresented the proceedings in Chapter. He says the majority of Chapter had contrived the business beforehand, kept matters secret from the rest, and with cunning and worldly policy carried their measures. You know how contrary to fact, these allegations are; that it was universally known that the consideration of a school, of incorporation, and, I believe, ecclesiastical government, was to come before the Board. I wish you would refer to Mr. Ashton's letter of convocation; and I beg you to recollect that the subjects of deliberation were so much known, that Mr. Pellentz, not being able to attend personally, wrote his opinion on all these facts. I am satisfied that we all aim at the same good end.¹⁵

The objection to the school arose from the fact that it clashed with the hopes of some of the American clergy regarding the restoration of the Society of Jesus, and therefore with the complete restitution of all properties and moneys in their possession as ex-members of the Society. The Southern District opposition to the college and to the bishopric was based on the belief that both these projects involved alienation of the ex-Jesuit property. Carroll answered this objection in the letter referred to, but he saw no hope of removing the objections "of our good gentlemen of your District." The Chapter resolutions were binding upon the whole body of the clergy, and Carroll emphasizes the fact that no partial opposition would stop progress in the worthy project. On all other matters he was willing to suspend action, until "a general or nearly general harmony prevails amongst us," but the school project he was determined to carry to completion. At the same time, Fathers Digges, Ashton, Sewall, Sylvester Boarman, and the prefect-apostolic wrote a formal answer to their opponents (February, 1787): without a restoration of the Society of Jesus, there could be no "re-acquiring of its former property here," while the application of some part of the ex-Jesuit estates for educational purposes is one of the noblest uses to which that property might be put.

The re-establishment therefore of the Society in this country is a necessary preliminary for the re-acquiring of its former property here;

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 673-675.

and if any more effectual means of compassing that re-establishment can be devised than those adopted by the Chapter, and which you do except against, we shall be very ready to join you in preferring them. A school will certainly be a nursery from whence postulants can alone be expected; and an independent ecclesiastical Superior is principally, if not essentially, necessary to render the school competent to all the purposes of its establishment. The application of some part of our estate which may be spared to this purpose, and the honour of God and good of souls being the end of this Society and hereby intended, we hope will give it that blessing from heaven, which we all most earnestly pray for. . . . Schools and seminaries have generally been encouraged and protected by the Bishops, whether immediately under their own direction, or the direction of the Society, and, if she should be re-established in this country, in our life time, there is no doubt but, with the other property, the government of the school will likewise be surrendered into her hands.¹⁶

Father Carroll also foresaw what actually occurred in 1806, namely that in the event of the restoration of the Society, the college would "be surrendered into her hands." He quite understood the reasons for the opposition, as can be seen from his letter to Plowden, February 28, 1787: "They act from this laudable motive, that both matters will occasion some alienation of property formerly possessed by the Society, which they wish to restore undiminished to her at her reestablishment. . . . they positively assert that any appropriation to the school (tho' made by the representative body of the Clergy, as has been the case) of estates now possessed by us is a violation of the rights of the Society; thus supposing that a right of property can exist in a non-existing body; for certainly the Society has no existence here."¹⁷

The opposition yielded at once on receipt of Carroll's letter, and the school project was assured of success, if sufficient funds could be obtained to make a foundation at Georgetown.¹⁸ The first assistance came from Cardinal Antonelli. On February 18, 1788, Propaganda voted an annual subsidy of one hundred *scudi* for a period of three years, and on February 23, the Cardinal-Prefect announced this gift to Carroll.¹⁹ Sufficient

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 677-678.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 672.

¹⁸ Carroll to Plowden, March 29, 1787, in HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 680.

¹⁹ *Propaganda Archives, Atti* (1788) no. 3—in reply to Carroll's letter of July 2, 1787.

funds having been gathered, the building of the college was decided upon for the summer of 1788. A house of 63 or 64 by 50 feet was to be built as Carroll writes, "on one of the most lovely situations that imagination can frame. It will be three stories high, exclusive of the offices under the whole. Do not forget to give and procure assistance. On this Academy is built all my hope of permanency and success to our Holy Religion in the United States." How complete the plans were can be seen from Carroll's correspondence with Plowden:

In the beginning the Academy will not receive boarders, but they must provide lodgings in town; but all notorious deviations from the rules of morality, out, as well as in, school, must be subjected to exemplary correction, every care and precaution that can be devised will be employed to preserve attention to the duties of religion and good manners, in which other American schools are most notoriously deficient. One of our own gentlemen, and the best qualified we can get, will live at the Academy to have the general direction of the studies and superintendence over scholars and masters. Four others of our gentlemen will be nominated to visit the Academy at stated times, and whenever they can make it convenient, to see that the business is properly conducted. In the beginning we shall be obliged to employ secular masters, under the superintendent, of which many and tolerably good ones have already solicited appointments. The great influx from Europe of men of all professions and talents has procured this opportunity of providing teachers. But this is not intended to be a permanent system. We trust in God that many youths will be called to the service of the Church. After finishing the academical studies, these will be sent to a seminary which will be established in one of our houses; and we have through God's mercy, a place and situation admirably calculated for the purpose of retirement, where these youths may be perfected in their first, and initiated into the higher studies, and at the same time formed to the virtues becoming their station. Before these young seminarists are admitted to orders, they will be sent to teach some years at the Academy, which will improve their knowledge and ripen their minds still more, before they irrevocably engage themselves to the Church.²⁰

Printed proposals were issued about this time, and a Committee on subscriptions for the purpose of collecting funds was employed:

²⁰ Carroll to Plowden, March 13, 1788, in HUGHES, *l.c.*, p. 695 (SHEA, *History of Georgetown University*, p. 11, gives the date of this letter as March 1, 1788).

Proposals

for establishing an Academy at George Town, Potowmack River, Maryland.

The object of the proposed Institution is to unite the Means of communicating Science with an effectual Provision for guarding and improving the Morals of Youth. With this View the Seminary will be superintended by those, who, having had experience in similar Institutions, know that an undivided Attention may be given to the Cultivation of Virtue and literary Improvement; and that a System of Discipline may be introduced and preserved, incompatible with Indolence and Inattention in the Professor, or with incorrigible Habits of Immorality in the Student.

The Benefit of this Establishment should be as general as the Attainment of its Object is desirable. It will, therefore, receive Pupils as soon as they have learned the first Elements of Letters, and will conduct them through the several Branches of Classical Learning to that Stage of Education, from which they may proceed with Advantage to the Study of the higher Sciences in the University of this or those of the neighboring States. Thus it will be calculated for every Class of Citizens; as Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, the Branches of the Mathematics, and the Grammar of our native tongue will be attended to, no less than the learned languages.

Agreeably to the liberal Principle of our Constitution, the Seminary will be open to Students of *Every Religious Profession*. They, who in this Respect differ from the Superintendents of the Academy, will be at Liberty to frequent the Place of Worship and Instruction appointed by their Parents; but with Respect to their moral Conduct, all must be subject to general and uniform Discipline.

In the choice of Situation, Salubrity of Air, convenience of Communication and Cheapness of Living, have been principally consulted, and George-Town offers these united Advantages.

The Price of Tuition will be moderate; in the Course of a few Years it will be reduced still lower, if the System formed for this Seminary, be effectually carried into execution.

Such a Plan of Education solicits, and, it is not Presumption to add, deserves public Encouragement.

The Following Gentlemen, and others that may be appointed, hereafter, will receive Subscriptions and inform the Subscribers, to whom and in what Proportion, Payments are to be made: In *Maryland*—The Hon. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Henry Rozer, Notley Young, Robert Darnall, George Digges, Edmund Plowden, Esqrs., Mr. Joseph Millard, Capt. John Lancaster, Mr. Baker Brooke, Chandler Brent, Esqr., Mr. Bernard O'Neill, and Mr. Marsham Waring, Merchants, John Darnall and Ignatius Wheeler, Esqrs., on the Western Shore; and on the Eastern, Rev. Joseph Mosley, John Blake, Francis Hall, Charles Blake, William Matthews, and John Tuitte, Esqrs.—In *Pennsylvania*—George Meade and

Thomas FitzSimons, Esqrs., Mr. Joseph Cauffman, Mr. Mark Willcox and Mr. Thomas Lilly.—In *Virginia*—Col. Fitzgerald, and George Brent, Esqrs.—and at *New York*, Dominick Lynch, Esquire.

Subscriptions will also be received, and every necessary Information given, by the following Gentlemen, Directors of the Undertaking: The Rev. Messrs. John Carroll, James Pellentz, Robert Molyneux, John Ashton, and Leonard Neale.

*To all liberally inclined to promote
the Education of Youth.*

Be it known by these Presents that I, the undersigned, have appointed to receive any generous donation for the purpose set forth in a certain paper, entitled Proposals for establishing an Academy, at George-Town, Potowmack River, Maryland; for which will give receipts to the Benefactors, and remit the monies received by to me the aforesaid underwritten, one of the Directors of the Undertaking. Conscious also of the merited Confidence placed in the aforesaid I moreover authorize to appoint any other person or persons to execute the same liberal Office, as he is authorized by me to execute.
.....this.....day of....., 17.....

J. CARROLL.²¹

To one of his confidential advisers, Father Beeston, of Philadelphia, Carroll wrote on March 22, 1788, saying that the responses to his appeal were neither numerous nor generous, and that with all his determination to make a success of the venture, he saw the possibility of a failure. In case Georgetown College should not become a reality, the alternative was to send American boys to the Liège Academy, though "the expense of a Liège education at the advanced price of £40 per annum for young ecclesiastics renders it impracticable for many Americans to profit by that excellent Institution."²² There were four Americans at Liège at the time preparing for the priesthood, and some of the clergy, particularly Ashton, the Procurator, preferred Liège. It is not certain when actual building operations at Georgetown began, but it was probably in April, 1788, since we have Carroll's statement to Antonelli (April 19, 1788)—"the building of the school was begun a few days ago, but if it is to be brought to a happy completion, our principal hope is in Divine Providence.

²¹ SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 306-309, from a copy printed in the *Georgetown College Journal*, vol. vi, pp. 46-50.

²² HUGHES, *l.c.*, p. 616.

From this beginning I believe the conservation of religion in these lands depends, for without the school there will be no chance of establishing a seminary for the maintenance of the clerical body and the extension of our holy religion."²³

The plans for the college were approved in a general congregation of Propaganda, held on June 18, 1787, and the interest taken by Cardinal Antonelli in the sending of two boys to Rome, kept the project constantly before the Sacred Congregation. Carroll told Antonelli on July 2, 1787, that he intended soliciting help in Europe for the college.²⁴ On August 8, 1788, the Cardinal-Prefect discussed in his letter to Carroll the use of the *Ratio Studiorum* in use in European colleges and seminaries, but he considered it wiser for Carroll to draw up a system of studies in keeping with the customs of America.²⁵

It was about this time that Father Robert Plunkett, a graduate of the English College at Douay, asked permission from his ordinary, the Vicar-Apostolic of London, to go to America. He had been for some years chaplain to the English Benedictine nuns at Brussels. The permission of the Holy See was necessary, on account of the Mission Oath taken before ordination. Antonelli mentioned Plunkett's wish to Carroll, March 13, 1789,²⁶ and there is extant a letter from Plunkett to the Holy Father, dated April 20, 1789, requesting this permission:

Beatissime Pater,

Robertus Plunket sacerdos alumnus collegii Anglorum Duaceni, in quo emisit solitum juramentum missionis etc. cum debita licentia Vicarii Apostolici Londinensis tanquam Ordinarii sui per plures annos confessarius monialium Anglarum Bruxellis, modo cum consensu eiusdem Vicarii Apostolici se offert missioni Americae Septentrionalis in Statibus Unitis, ubi major est penuria sacerdotum, paratus eo quamprimum transfretare; sed cum ista missio hodie non sit, ut olim fuit, sub jurisdictione Vicarii Apostolici Londinensis, humiliter supplicat ut Sanctitas Vestra benigne dignetur, annuere, ut etiam ibi ad normam juramenti possit laborare in vinea Domini.

Father Carroll had decided upon Robert Plunkett as the first President of Georgetown College, and when its doors were opened to the first students in the late autumn of 1791, Father

²³ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. ii, f. 367.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 787, no. 3.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, *Lettere*, vol. 250, f. 444.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, *Lettere*, vol. 253, f. 265.

Plunkett assumed charge of the institution. On October 12, 1791, Carroll wrote to Plowden describing the inauguration of the college: "The [Georgetown] Academy will be opened in a few days; but not so advantageously as I hoped. No president *pro dignitate loci*. I can hardly forgive my friends at Liège. Here was an opportunity for infinite services to the cause of God and His Church. Mr. Molyneux cannot be prevailed on; and indeed he has not the activity of body, nor the *vivida vis animi* for such an employment. I have recurred to Mr. Plunkett, but cannot get his answer yet" ²⁷

The Third General Chapter of the Clergy took up the college project, on May 15, 1789, and ordered that a special subscription be instituted throughout the United States to augment the general fund being gathered for the completion of the building.

Proceedings of the Chapter, 15 May, 1789.

May 15th. *Business of the Academy.*

Resolved,

1°. That a subscription be proposed to the general offices [officers?] and members of clergy to relieve the public exigencies, to which it is likely the general fund will not be adequate.

2°. That the present members of Chapter do circulate and encourage the aforesaid subscription among their fellow clergymen in their respective Districts, and the monies collected be paid into the hands of their [the?] Directors of the Academy.

3°. That the sum arising therefrom be applied to the finishing the Academy at George Town, and that the Procurator-General be authorized to apply all savings out of the Office, which may be made to the next sitting of Chapter, to the same purpose.

4°. That the Superior be requested by the senior member of Chapter to nominate a clergyman to superintend the Academy at George Town as soon as the schools shall be open for the education of youth, and that the said clergyman be presented to the Directors thereof and, if approved by them, be constituted Principal.

5°. That the income from a certain tract of land subject to the care of the Procurator-General be by him annually paid to the Principal for his support, as far as the amount of £100.00 current money, and that all deficiency to be made up to him out of the general fund.

6°. That the said Principal be *ex officio* one of the Directors of the Academy, and have a vote in all matters belonging to the government thereof, except wherein he is personally concerned.

²⁷ HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 746.

7°. That the Principal shall be removable by a majority of votes of the other Directors.²⁸

Propaganda's encouragement never flagged,²⁹ but the truth is that the generosity of the American Catholics was of such a kind that very little hope of success was present. The gifts gathered by Bishop Carroll while in England in 1790 made the opening of the college, a reality. In his letter on the sea, July, 1790, Bishop-elect Carroll assured Antonelli that the completion of the school would be his first endeavour on his return, and on August 14, 1790, the Cardinal-Prefect wrote to Bishop Carroll that arrangements have been made with a merchant in Leghorn to transmit the subsidy of one hundred *scudi* to Baltimore. A complete history of Georgetown University would contain many other interesting references from the documents at our disposal.

The burden of maintaining the college fell upon the estates of the ex-Jesuits, and that support was given cheerfully during the régime of the first four Presidents—Plunkett (1791-1793), Molyneux (1793-1796), Du Bourg (1796-1799), Leonard Neale (1799-1806). When Father Robert Molyneux, S. J., the Superior of the partially restored Society became President in 1806, the college passed into the possession of the Jesuits, and thus it began its long career as the oldest and the greatest of all the Catholic educational institutions in the United States.³⁰

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 695.

²⁹ "De scholae institutione quam jamdiu in animo conceptam habes, nihil facere potes aut tuo zelo, praestantique virtute digni, aut pietatis et religioni propagandae accommodatius"—Antonelli to Carroll, July 11, 1789, *Propaganda Archives, Letters*, vol. 255, f. 349.

³⁰ The first student to matriculate at Georgetown College was William Gaston (1778-1844). After finishing his studies at Georgetown, Gaston entered Princeton, and then took up the practice of law. In 1813-1815, he was United States Senator from North Carolina, and in 1833 was appointed a Judge on the Supreme Bench of that State. (Cf. *Metropolitan*, vol. iv (1856), p. 585.)

CHAPTER XXV
THE COMING OF SAINT SULPICE
(1791)

For over two hundred years the aspirants to Catholic priesthood in the British Isles were trained in the colleges and seminaries erected in the different countries of Europe by English, Irish and Scottish Catholics after the fall of the Church in 1559. The process of preparing young men for the priesthood in these educational institutions was a long one and a costly one. During a century and more, it was as hazardous to send Catholic boys to the Continent to begin their studies as it was to bring them back grown men for their great and perilous work of keeping the Faith alive in hearts that had been broken on the wheel of penal brutalities. It took courage to be a Catholic priest in Great Britain and Ireland down even to the end of the first quarter of the last century. The freedom of the present day, especially in the United States, is apt to cause many to view in tolerant retrospect this anti-Catholic era of English history (1559-1829) and equally apt to lead some to forget that the whole of the colonial epoch in the thirteen English colonies was a period of ostracism, socially, and of imprisonment and death, legally, for all who were shepherds of Catholic flocks in the land. Too much credit, therefore, can never be given to that body of men, who, from the days of Father Andrew White, S.J., down to the end of the Revolutionary War, manned the Bark of Peter in this country. The Society of Jesus has many glorious pages in its record of four hundred years of intellectual and spiritual activity, but it has no page more vibrant with heroism than its century and a half of missionary success in English-speaking America (1634-1773). The Society was struck down at a time, when its power and influence were most needed in the civilized world; it was suppressed by the one power on earth

it had spared neither effort nor sacrifice to protect and support; and when the Holy See yielded to the politicians of Europe and disbanded the Jesuits, it practically left its own defences unguarded, its educational system in jeopardy, and its peace and prosperity at the mercy of every rising movement of lawlessness.

The world and the Church paid the penalty for that act of 1773, and nowhere else was the blow felt more acutely than in the new Republic. During the long epoch which followed Father White's first Mass at St. Mary's City, March 25, 1634, labourers for the American vineyard had been sent constantly from these Continental colleges and seminaries. With the Suppression and the Revolutionary War occurring almost simultaneously, the voyages of those who came with enthusiasm to work among the Catholics of the colonies ceased, and young men could not be sent abroad to prepare for that same purpose. Father Hughes has given us a list of the Jesuits who laboured in the Anglo-American Mission; many of these were born in America, chiefly in Maryland, and were sent to St. Omer's College, to Watten, Ghent, or Liège, and then returned to labour in their own country. During the period which followed the Suppression, this supply was cut off, and in Carroll's *Report* to Antonelli, the alarming fact is given that there were only twenty-five priests in the United States. We have seen that of these, two had passed their seventieth year, and several others were close to it. No fact weighed more heavily upon Carroll's heart than the lack of priests. He knew, as others knew, but he always had the courage to say it, that if the Church in the new Republic was to be left to the mercy of intruders, meddlers, and adventurers, or to the danger arising from racial groups under the guidance of the priests who accompanied the immigrants, then its future as a national body was seriously in doubt. The members of the suppressed Society can be readily excused during the eighteen years that separated the Suppression and Carroll's consecration for not taking more active steps to set up some sort of seminary training. There was always present in their hearts and in their prayers the possibility of a restoration of their Society. Father Carroll saw affairs somewhat differently. He knew that no restoration was possible until Rome had expressed its consent to allow the same. Meanwhile, his little band of priests

was being thinned by death, and intruders of an obnoxious kind were forcing themselves into prominence in church life in America. The only way to gain control of a fast demoralizing situation was to establish a Seminary in the United States for the training of American priests. Assistance from the Old World was uncertain and dubious. The establishment of Georgetown College, as has been mentioned already, was but one part of the design he had in mind; the other was the establishment of a house of philosophy and theology for ecclesiastical students. What Carroll's plans for a Seminary were before his consecration would be difficult to say. The founding of the college overshadowed everything educational at the time, and it was only when Georgetown became a certainty that he was able to consider the problem of clerical training.

The Bull *Ex hac apostolicae* of November 6, 1789, among other duties, imposed upon Bishop Carroll, emphasized the necessity of establishing "an episcopal seminary either in the same city [Baltimore], or elsewhere, as he shall judge most expedient." This injunction was in marked agreement with Carroll's views, as the historian of the Sulpicians in America tells us, and no doubt it inspired the prefect-apostolic with new energy to bring about the foundation of such an institution.¹ It has been stated that Dr. Carroll corresponded with various ecclesiastical authorities in Europe with a view to realizing the desires of the Holy Father and of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide. "Among the prelates whose aid he invoked," Herbermann writes, "was the Apostolic Nuncio at Paris, Monseigneur Dugnani." If this be correct, it is to be regretted that none of this correspondence has been found.²

The coming of the Sulpicians can hardly be attributed to Carroll's direct application to the superiors of the Society at Paris. Rather was the initiative due to the troubled conditions in France at that time. If it be remembered that Carroll's election to Baltimore occurred shortly after the fall of the Bastille (July 14, 1789), and that his consecration took place at a time when it was evident that nothing could save France from the

¹ HERBERMANN, *The Sulpicians in the United States*. New York, 1917.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

terrible upheaval which dates from that outbreak, it will be easily understood why spiritual leaders such as Father Emery, the Superior-General of the Society of St. Sulpice, should seek a haven of refuge beyond the borders of France itself. Even the suggestion that a number of Sulpicians be sent out with the Gallipolis colony in 1790 met with a certain amount of approval. Fortunately, the Papal Nuncio at Paris made the happier suggestion that there was more need of a Seminary in the newly-established Diocese of Baltimore, and that Bishop Carroll, who was then about to be consecrated in England, would welcome the assistance of a body of men devoted to the special work of training young men for the priesthood.

The Society of St. Sulpice, founded by Father John James Olier at Paris in 1642, had opened the Seminary at Montreal in 1657. Its work was well known throughout Christendom, and its success in this important branch of ecclesiastical life so unprecedented, that to Carroll and to all who knew how badly such an establishment was needed in the United States, the offer of the Sulpicians to come to America was providential. There are indeed few events in the history of the Church in this country which show more plainly the hand of God.³

Father-General Emery communicated with Bishop Carroll and proposed that an American Seminary be begun at once. He offered Carroll the hospitality of the Seminary of St. Sulpice at Paris, in case he intended passing through that city. Shea states that this letter was accompanied by a communication from Dugnani to Carroll, dated Paris, August 24, 1790, urging Bishop Carroll to come to Paris for a conference with the Sulpicians. "It would appear," Shea says, "that this generous offer did not at first impress Dr. Carroll very favorably, as he wrote for further information."⁴ There was undoubtedly some hesitation on Bishop Carroll's part, but it was wholly of a financial nature. No doubt the disturbed condition of France, as well as his desire to return home for the reorganization of his diocese, prevented

³ Cf. a contemporary document in the *Georgetown College Archives*, printed in the *Researches*, vol. xiii, pp. 41-44 (Foundation of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, at Baltimore). Cf. GOSSELIN, *Vie de M. Emery*. Paris, 1862; *Les Missions Sulpiciennes*, in *L'Université Catholique* (Paris), vol. vi, p. 570 (August 15, 1905).

⁴ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 378.

Bishop Carroll from going to Paris, or to the scenes of his own long years as a student and teacher, St. Omer, Bruges and Liège; and in order to spare him the journey, Father Nagot, one of the Directors of the Paris Seminary, came to London to see the Bishop. Shea's "doubt or distrust" on the part of Carroll vanished when he met Father Nagot. He made it quite clear to the venerable Sulpician that it would be impossible for the new diocese to finance such an undertaking. Father Nagot explained that "interest had been excited in France, and that means had been placed at the disposal of the Sulpicians to enable them to found a Seminary in America." Carroll announced Father Nagot's visit in the letter of September 27, 1790, to Antonelli: "These past few days, at the request of the illustrious Nuncio, there came from Paris, the learned and worthy priest, Father Nagot, the Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice; with whom, after our conference, I decided to establish the episcopal Seminary of Baltimore. Certainly this is a wonderful mark of divine providence in our regard, that such excellent priests should be incited to confer upon us such valuable assistance. From this institution we are filled with hope not only for the increase of divine worship but also for supplying ministers of the sanctuary."⁵ Some few days before his departure (October 4, 1790), Bishop Carroll wrote to Lord Arundell from London:

We arranged all preliminaries, and I expect at Baltimore early in the summer some of the gentlemen of that Institution to set hand to the work; and I have reason to believe that they will find means to carry their plan into effect. Thus we shall be provided with a house fit for the reception of and further improvement in the higher sciences of the young men whom God may call to an Ecclesiastical state, after their classical education is finished in our Georgetown Academy. While I cannot but thank Divine Providence for opening upon us such a prospect, I feel great sorrow in the reflection that we owe such a benefit to the distressed state of Religion in France.⁶

⁵ *Propaganda Archives, Scrittura originali*, vol. 893 (not folioed): "Hisce postremis diebus, Parisiis advenit, rogatu Excellentissimi Nuncii, praeclarus optimusque Praelyter Dominus Nagot, Superior parvi, ut vocatur, Seminarii Sti. Sulpicii, quocum, collatis invicem consiliis, statutum est Seminarium Episcopale Baltimori constituere. Maximum certe propitiae in nos divinae voluntatis indicium est, quod optimos Sacerdotes excitaverit ad tantum nobis conferendum subsidium, ex quo effulget praeclara spes non solum augendi decorem divini cultus sed etiam instituendi sanctuarii Ministros, qui tantae messi et abunde sufficiant, et magno cum fructu illius curam habeant."

⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Special C-R6.

This group of pioneers from Catholic France was destined to have a large share in the organization of Catholic America. Father Nagot was then fifty-seven years old, and had been one of the directors of the Seminary at Paris for some years. He was the logical choice for the rectorship of the new Seminary at Baltimore. He had taught philosophy and theology, and was almost as well-known in the ecclesiastical circles of France as the Superior-General, Father Emery. Father Garnier was a young man of twenty-nine at the time, and was an able scholar and a linguist of wide reputation. He had taught theology at the Seminary in Lyons. Father Levadoux had directed the Seminary at Bourges, and Father Tessier, who was then about thirty-two years of age, had been professor at Viviers.

M. Emery was certainly happy in the choice of the priests whom he sent to America, but he did more for the new institution. As a seminary without students would be a paradox, and as it was very doubtful that Georgetown, Bishop Carroll's new academy, would be able to furnish students of theology for some years to come, he made vigorous efforts to secure such students in the French Seminaries under Sulpician guidance, and he was not unsuccessful. Five young Levites, all of them speaking the English language, volunteered to become pioneer students of the Baltimore Seminary. They were Messrs. Tulloh and Floyd, both natives of England; Perrineau, an English-speaking Canadian; Edward Caldwell, born at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, a recent convert; and lastly Jean de Montdésir, of the diocese of Chartres.⁷

One of Father Emery's friends had given him thirty thousand *livres* for the new foundation, and from a letter to Bishop Carroll, we learn that the Superior-General had decided to give one hundred thousand *livres* for the Seminary. The spirit of the enterprise is well displayed in the instructions given to Father Nagot, before starting out:

The priests of St. Sulpice sent to found a seminary at Baltimore, will endeavour, above all things, to be inspired by the loftiest ideal of their vocation. They will bear in mind that their seminary is the first and will be for a long time the only institution of the kind in the United States of America, that it is intended to educate in this seminary all the apostolic labourers who in the designs of Providence are destined to strengthen

⁷ HERBERMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 19. Tulloh returned to England in 1792; both Plowden and Strickland write about him in 1792-1793. (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-B1, 8-Ca, 6-06.)

Catholics in their faith, to bring back heretics to the bosom of the Church, to bear the light of the Gospel to the Redskins; in a word, to spread the kingdom of Christ and His Church in a country much larger than the whole of Europe. Therefore, they will do everything in their power to reach a high degree of sanctity, convinced that they will do more good by their holy lives than by their teachings and their exhortations. Let them often call to mind that they are destined to perpetuate the spirit of the name of their Society in the world; and let them always keep before their eyes the rules and practices of St. Sulpice, in order to be guided by them as far as possible. . . . Since it has pleased God to bless till now the work of the Society of St. Sulpice, experience convinces us that its spirit is good; and since its proper and characteristic aim is to concern itself only with the education of the clergy, the directors of the Seminary at Baltimore will confine and consecrate themselves entirely to this work; and if at the beginning and under unusual circumstances they find themselves compelled to take up duties foreign to this work, they must consider themselves to be under conditions out of their element, and not to be satisfied until they can return to their special mode of life. . . . The peculiar spirit of the Society, moreover, is a spirit of unworldliness. They will, therefore, have as little intercourse as possible with the world; and all of their pious practices, those to which they will especially devote themselves are meditation and their annual retreat. In order to strengthen themselves in their love of the inner spirit, they will adopt the festivals in honour of the inner life of Our Lord and the Blessed Virgin. . . . The Seminary at Baltimore will bear the name of St. Sulpice, will be under the special protection of the Blessed Virgin, and will also accept the other patrons of St. Sulpice. . . .⁸

The first party of ten priests and seminarians embarked at St. Malo on April 8, 1791. Three months later, on July 10, they reached Baltimore. After securing a house on the present grounds of the Seminary, they began their work about July 23, 1791, and on October 3, the Seminary was ready to receive students. When the spiritual retreat opened on December 10, 1791, the little band of five aspirants had been reduced to three, for the names of Tulloh and Caldwell are not found on the list of priests ordained at St. Mary's Seminary. Students came slowly to the institution—the first three being two Frenchmen, Messrs. Barret and Badin, the latter being ordained in 1793 as the first-fruits of the Seminary, and the Russian Prince Demetrius Gallitzin, who was ordained in 1795. From 1795 to 1797,

⁸ HERBERMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21. Cf. *Memorial Volume of the Centenary of St. Mary's Seminary of St. Sulpice, Baltimore, Md.*, pp. 3-4. Baltimore, 1891.

the Seminary was without students. The first American-born student, William Matthews, entered in 1797, and was ordained in 1800. The year 1792 saw the advent of two other groups of Sulpicians, many of whom were to exert a lasting influence on church affairs in the United States—Fathers Chicoisneau, David, and Flaget, who arrived on March 29, and Fathers Maréchal, Richard, and Ciquard, who came on June 24. In December, 1794, Father Du Bourg arrived and in 1795 was admitted to the Sulpicians. Without students to teach, all these priests could not be kept at St. Mary's; and with the consent of Father Emery, Bishop Carroll sent them to different parts of his diocese as missionaries. Father Levadoux and Flaget were sent to the Illinois Country; Father Garnier established St. Patrick's parish, at Baltimore; Father David went to the lower Maryland missions; Father Du Bourg organized the first parish at Baltimore for the colored; Father Ciquard was sent to minister to the Micmac Indians in Maine; Father Maréchal laboured on the Maryland missions until 1802, when he became a professor at Georgetown College. A later arrival, Father Jean Dilhet, was sent to the West, as a companion to Father Levadoux, while Father Gabriel Richard eventually settled at Detroit (1798) and left behind him a lasting memorial in the educational history of Michigan.

How highly Bishop Carroll appreciated the coming of these learned and devoted priests into his diocese is expressed in his letter of April 23, 1792, to Antonelli:

It is already known to the Sacred Congregation how singular a blessing has come to us from the disorders that threaten religion in France, since on account of the same has arisen the opportunity of sending thither some priests from the Seminary of St. Sulpice, at Paris. While I was in London, this matter was seriously considered as I have already made known to the Sacred Congregation; after my return to my diocese, the plan was fully decided upon, and in July of last year four priests with five clerics, students of philosophy and theology, reached this port, led by the Venerable Nagot, formerly Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice. . . . The establishment of a seminary is certainly a new and extraordinary spectacle for the people of this country; the remarkable piety of these priests is admirable, and their example is a stimulant and spur to all who feel themselves called to work in the vineyard of the Lord. Such are the great and remarkable effects of God's bounty. But what is still more important is that, owing to the establishment of this seminary,

the clergy will be brought up in the purity of faith and in holiness of conduct. All our hopes are founded on the Seminary of Baltimore. Since the arrival of the priests of St. Sulpice, the celebration of the offices of the Church and the dignity of divine worship have made a great impression, so that, though the church of Baltimore is hardly worthy of the name of cathedral, if we consider its style and its size, it may be looked upon as an episcopal church in view of the number of its clergy.⁹

It must be remembered, however, that like every religious community in the Church, the ideal of the Society of St. Sulpice was a well-defined one. The Society was founded for a single purpose—the training of young ecclesiastics in the seminaries, in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent. This work demanded men of ability and of piety. At no one period was the Society a large one. Its members were carefully chosen from among the numerous applicants who presented themselves. Its work is the hardest the ecclesiastical life knows. How well the ideals of the Sulpicians had succeeded is evident from the fact that in 1791, when the French Revolution crushed all Catholic effort in France, the sixteen leading seminaries of France were under the direction of the Society. Missionary work was not included in its designs; not indeed, that the priests of St. Sulpice neglected any labour of this kind which came to their notice, but organized missionary effort, such as that undertaken by the Sulpicians who came to the United States in 1791-1794, was decidedly foreign to the spirit of their Rule. It is in this light that we must regard the first ten years of Sulpician history at Baltimore. Father Nagot, and still more, the Superior-General, Father Emery, saw that their spiritual subjects in the United States might drift away from the Sulpician standards, and, with the class-rooms of St. Mary's Seminary practically vacant during that time, it is not surprising that the Baltimore foundation should be viewed as a failure. The situation seemed hopeless in America, and indeed, was hopeless. In France, with the election of Napoleon as First Consul (1799) the worst period of the Revolution was over, and the leaders of the country set about organizing their distracted nation. Pius VI died in exile, at Valence, on August 22, 1799, and on March 14, 1800, Cardinal

⁹ Cf. HERBERMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

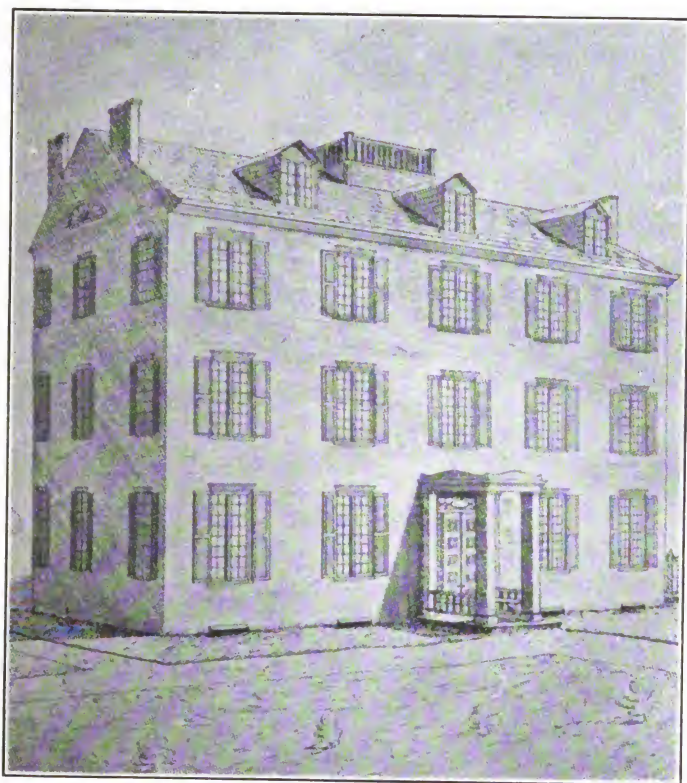
Chiaramonti was elected, as Pius VII. In November, 1800, the negotiations began between the representatives of the Papacy and of Napoleon, and the Concordat agreed upon in August, 1801, was solemnly proclaimed in Notre Dame Cathedral on Easter Sunday, April 18, 1802. One result of the understanding between Church and State was the reopening of the seminaries in France. Father Emery was well-known to the First Consul, who held him in high respect, and on three occasions had offered him a bishopric, which the Superior-General declined each time, believing that his duty was to reorganize the scattered forces of the Sulpicians. It is easily understood, therefore, that the Superior-General should consider in all seriousness the situation of his priests then labouring in the American missions.

Naturally, his eyes wandered across the great western main, where so many of his brethren consecrated to clerical education were working hard, but working for ends which, however laudable, were foreign to the primary aims of the Society. All these considerations naturally tended to make him feel that he and his brethren were practically faithless to the very purposes of the Society and that the American St. Sulpice was betraying the cause of ecclesiastical education. He exchanged views with his dear old lieutenant, Father Nagot, and that gentle soul, who up to the age of sixty had devoted his time and his entire self to the work of the Sulpician Seminary, could not conceal from himself that the American Sulpicians, whilst strenuous workers in the Vineyard of the Lord, were not faithful disciples of the Reverend M. Olier.¹⁰

Practically every message from the Sulpicians in America contained a picture of failure, and Father Emery at last decided to recall his brethren to the more important tasks at hand in France. Gosselin, in his *Life of Father Emery*, has given us a portion of the correspondence which passed between Bishop Carroll and Father Emery anent the recall of twelve Sulpicians then in the Diocese of Baltimore. On August 8, 1800, Father Emery wrote to Bishop Carroll about the latter's disapproval of the founding of St. Mary's College in Baltimore, as a preparatory school to the Seminary.¹¹ The letter is a frank statement to the effect that unless the bishop can see a way towards a closer coöperation with St. Sulpice, the whole project will be in jeop-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 103-104.



ST. MARY'S SEMINARY—BALTIMORE, 1791

ardy. In January, 1801, we have Carroll's answer, equally frank, but pleading with the superior-general to have patience—"I was frightened," he writes, "when I heard that for a short time you intended to recall them. I earnestly beg you to give up this thought and to feel that in the end they will fulfill the purpose of your Society and the views you had when you sent them here." Later in the year, when it was evident that Father Emery was determined to recall the American Sulpicians, Bishop Carroll wrote (September, 1801): ". . . I conjure you by the bowels of Our Lord not to take all of them away from us, and if it is necessary for me to undergo the trial of losing the greater number, I beg of you to leave us at least a seed, which may yield fruit in the season decreed by the Lord. . . ." When Father Emery insisted upon the return of the American Sulpicians, Bishop Carroll complained sharply against the entire suppression of an institution, on the lasting character of which he had always counted, and declared that if the Sulpicians went back to Europe the only monument they will leave behind them would be a college. In his reply (February 2, 1802) Father Emery justified his action:

. . . I come to the root of the matter; surely in the entire course of the French Revolution nothing was done similar to what we did for you and your diocese. A small Society like ours, in fact, the smallest Society of all, offers to establish a seminary in your diocese; it sends you quite a large number of members; it even sends you seminarians to enable you to start the seminary work at once; the Society sends them at its own expense; it undertakes to support these members, and, in fact, has ever since then supported them; it sacrifices to this institution the greater part of its savings and gives nearly 100,000 francs. What is the result of all this? At the end of ten years things stand as they did on the first day. At present there is no question of giving up the Baltimore Seminary, because that seminary, in truth, has never existed; there is question only of giving up the project of the seminary. From time to time promises were made that students should be sent there; we were made to regard this as a grace and favour; but the students did not come, and difficulties arose where we should have least expected them. You tell me, Monseigneur, that the Society will leave behind it no monument except a college. I hope that you will bear in mind to some degree all the services which its members have rendered you during ten years. If there is question of complaining, it seems to me that I have a right to complain, since at the end of a ten years' stay, and after many promises, we have done nothing and have been able to do nothing of

all that we meant to do when entering your diocese. However, I am very far from finding fault with you; we know that you have not been able to do what you wished, and we are always grateful to you for the kindness you have shown us.¹²

As a result of these orders received from Paris, Fathers Garnier, Maréchal and Levadoux departed for France in 1803. Father Nagot remained on account of ill-health. The result was that the Seminary seemed doomed. If it was saved at the time, credit must be given to no less a personage than Pius VII, who was then in Paris. His Holiness had journeyed to the French capital, in November, 1804, for the coronation ceremony of the Emperor Napoleon (December 2, 1804). About this time Father Emery asked the advice of Pius VII on continuing the Seminary at Baltimore, and the answer which has come down to us, is: "My son, let it stand, let that Seminary stand. It will bear fruit in its own time." Father Emery accepted the decision of the Pope, and allowed Father Nagot to continue as superior. In 1810, the venerable Sulpician resigned his post, and was succeeded by Father John Tessier, who directed the Seminary from that date down to the time of Archbishop Whitfield (1829). Growth was slow at first, the ordinations numbering but two or three a year. During Bishop Carroll's episcopate, thirty priests were ordained at St. Mary's.

The chief cause for the failure of St. Mary's Seminary during the first decade of its existence was the lack of students. With the opening of Georgetown College at the same time as the coming of the Sulpicians (1791), Bishop Carroll hoped to find a number of vocations to the priesthood grow out of the student body at the college. In this, he was disappointed; and if Georgetown was unable to furnish students prepared for philosophy, the Seminary in Baltimore was a useless expense. A way lay open to them; the creation of a *petit séminaire* or preparatory college at Baltimore. To this Bishop Carroll was strongly opposed, and no doubt, rightly so. Georgetown was in its infancy, and to deprive it of students by creating what would be a rival institution was out of the question. But the condition of the Seminary was too emphatic for delay, and Fathers Flaget and

¹² HERBERMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

Richard gathered a few boys of the city around them in 1793 for academic instruction. After a year, Bishop Carroll interposed and the work was abandoned. Father William Du Bourg, who had come to America in 1794, as a secular priest, became a Sulpician the following year, and in 1796, he was appointed President of Georgetown College by Bishop Carroll. This position he resigned shortly afterwards, returning to the Seminary. It was evident that Georgetown had not reached that state of permanency which would insure a succession of ecclesiastical students. Another Sulpician, Father Babad, had conceived the idea of a college in Havana, and he was joined there by Father Du Bourg. The prospects seemed bright enough, but, after a year's trial, the college in Havana was closed by order of the Spanish Government, and Father Du Bourg returned to Baltimore (August, 1799) with three Spanish boys. Here he opened a college in a few rooms of the Seminary. Bishop Carroll was not in favour of the scheme, because of the danger the new foundation might prove to Georgetown. He agreed, however, to allow studies to be begun, on condition that no American students be accepted, while he limited the number of the foreign students. It was this opposition to St. Mary's College, which strengthened Father Emery's determination to recall the American Sulpicians altogether. "He seems," says Herbermann, "to have regarded the Bishop's opposition to a Sulpician academy as a bar to any plan of self-help on the part of his Society, and therefore as a kind of sentence of death to the seminary itself."¹⁸ The bishop soon saw the necessity of permitting St. Mary's College to continue, and in 1803, its doors were opened to all American students, day scholars and boarders, without distinction of creed. In 1806, the number of collegians was one hundred and six. There were only two other institutions of this kind in Maryland at the time: Washington College, at Chestertown, on the eastern shore, founded by Rev. Dr. Smith, in 1782, and St. John's College at Annapolis, begun in 1789. The two institutions were combined as the University of Maryland by the Maryland Assembly, but they were not well patronized and the union was soon dissolved by the state Legislature. The failure of these two colleges

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 96.

was emphasized by the success of St. Mary's College, which was raised by an act of the Legislature in 1805 to the rank of a university. Father Du Bourg remained President of St. Mary's University until 1812, when he became Administrator of the Diocese of Louisiana; three years later he became Bishop of New Orleans. Among the presidents of the college were Archbishop Eccleston and Bishops David, Bruté and Chanche. For a half century, St. Mary's College held a high place in the educational progress of Maryland; but to the Sulpicians in France and to many of the American Sulpicians, it was looked upon as outside the scope of the Society's constitutions; and in 1852, the institution, then at the height of its fame, was closed permanently, its place being taken by Loyola College.

The Sulpician ideal was a purely clerical college, that is, one in which only those Catholic boys would be received who had aspirations for the priesthood. Not all, it is true, were expected to persevere up to ordination, but the rules of the Society were strict in this sense that the labours of the Sulpicians should be spent exclusively in the preparation of young men for the ministry. In 1792, when Father Emery sent the second party of Sulpicians to the United States, he impressed upon them the duty of founding preparatory Seminaries in the New Republic. Shortly after the University charter had been granted to St. Mary's College, Father Nagot, the first Superior of St. Mary's Seminary, gathered a group of boys around him at Pigeon Hill, Adams County, Pennsylvania. Father Nagot had spent one of his vacations on a farm at Pigeon Hill, and when the owner returned to France in 1803, the farm and property were left in his care. The superior of the Seminary saw an opportunity of establishing there a preparatory college, and one of the most remarkable of the Sulpicians who came from France, Father John Dubois, who was then pastor of Frederick, Maryland, and who later became a Sulpician, suggested that the school at Pigeon Hill be transferred to Emmitsburg, where a number of Catholic farmers were living. Urged by Father Du Bourg, who realized as well as his fellow-Sulpicians, the anomaly of St. Mary's College as a preparatory Seminary, and by Father Nagot, who saw in the little nucleus he had gathered at Pigeon Hill the beginning of such a founda-

tion, Father Dubois opened a school, under the title, Mount St. Mary's College, at Emmitsburg, in 1808-1809. The Pigeon Hill scholars were transferred to the new college, and that establishment, modest as it was in the beginning, then began its long career of usefulness to Church and State in this country. The Mountain, as it is affectionately called by its alumni, had sixty pupils in 1812. This same year Father Dubois was joined by an equally noted priest, Father Simon Bruté. Mount St. Mary's College remained under Sulpician direction during the rest of Carroll's lifetime, becoming a diocesan college in 1826.

The early history of these three Catholic colleges—St. Mary's, at Baltimore, Pigeon Hill, in Pennsylvania, and Mount St. Mary's, at Emmitsburg—is not known with all the accuracy of description and of chronology which is desirable. They prepared the way in days when the sacrifices demanded of teacher and pupil are almost beyond belief, and their success, as the years went on, only adds to our admiration for the bravery of these early scholars who came to the United States during the French Revolution with an ideal which they have never allowed to be tarnished.

CHAPTER XXVI

RELIGIOUS ORDERS OF WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES

It is a maxim in church tradition that no people can be said to enjoy completely the blessings of the Catholic Faith until its sons and daughters seek a means of following the evangelical counsels in the life of perfection offered by the religious Orders that have existed in the Catholic Church almost from earliest times. As an integral part of Catholicism, the primary purpose of the religious Orders, Congregations, and Institutes, is personal sanctification. But it is a fact admitted by all historians that the members of these religious communities have never been idle members of society. In the passage of time it has happened more than once that individuals and sometimes whole houses have proven recreant to their ideals; but the story of religious life is so thoroughly a part of the history of civilization that there are few scholars today who fail to recognize the value of these communities in the moral and intellectual advance of humanity. No one but a stranger to the religious life could make the mistake nowadays of accepting the position held by the reformers of the sixteenth century in regard to the utility of these Orders and Congregations. There is no aspect of human need, no work of charity, no phase of education, in which they have not taken a great share. Their care of the sick and the dying; their custodianship of the orphan and of the delinquent; the consoling attention they pay to the aged and the infirm; and especially their devotion to the cause of education—these alone give to the men and women who enter the religious life within the Church the surety of appreciation from all who rejoice in practical evidences of man's love for his fellow-men.

When John Carroll became Bishop of Baltimore in 1790, no Catholic institution embracing any one of these ideals of Christian charity existed within the borders of what was then the United States. There was no Catholic home for the aged, no

Catholic hospital, no Catholic orphanage. Catholic education, both primary, secondary, and ecclesiastical, had to be built up from the foundations. The want of these educational establishments in colonial days had caused Catholic parents to submit their children to the risk of the long, arduous and perilous journey to the Continent of Europe for Catholic instruction. From Maine to the frontiers of Florida and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, no convent or monastery existed wherein young men or young women, called to a life of perfection, might find refuge from the world. Only the broken remnants of that community which had founded the faith in the thirteen original States and had evangelized the Indians and the colonists for a hundred and forty years were to be seen. The great work of the Company of Jesus lay scattered by a blow from its commander-in-chief, a blow dealt in the dark and as fatal in its consequences as the disbanding of an army in the thick of the battle; and the Church in the new Republic was robbed of its strongest defence. During the three and thirty years of the Suppression in the United States (1773-1806), one by one, the old Fathers of the Society of Jesus were dropping off and were being laid alongside the Jesuits of the former days, who had spent their all in keeping the flame of the Faith bright and clear in the colonies.

Outside the frontiers of the United States, only one community existed—the Ursuline nuns at New Orleans. Antedating the birth of John Carroll by seven years, the foundation of the first Ursuline Convent within the present territory of the United States (1727), was the outcome of Governor Bienville's plea to the Ursulines of Rouen to undertake the education of girls in the little settlement of New Orleans. On February 22, 1727, ten Ursuline nuns from various convents of the Order in France, set sail for New Orleans on the *Gironde*, accompanied by two members of the Society of Jesus.¹ The nuns were under the direction of Mother Marie Tranchepain, of the Rouen convent.

¹ *The Ursulines in Louisiana (1727-1824)*. New Orleans, 1886; *Relation du Voyage des premières Ursulines à la Nouvelle Orléans et de leur établissement en cette Ville*, par la Rev. Mère St. Augustin de Tranchepain, Supérieure, avec les lettres circulaires de quelques unes de ses Sœurs, et de la dite Mère. Translated by SIZA in the *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, vol. i, pp. 28-41. Cf. *Records*, vol. xxiii, pp. 125-128.

The account of the voyage, as contained in the pages of Sister Stanislaus Hachard's diary

reads in these days like a romance. . . . The ship encountered terrible tempests, and several times seemed on the point of going down. Once she struck upon a rock. Corsairs got on her track again and again, and on one of these occasions, when capture seemed to be inevitable, the Sisters were stowed away in the captain's cabin. To add to their sufferings, the captain treated them at times with brutal harshness. Five months were thus consumed, and everybody both at home and in the colony had given them up for lost. Finally, reaching the mouth of the Mississippi, the *Gironde* stuck fast in the mud, and the Sisters were forced to make their way up the river as best they could in small boats and dugouts, going ashore at night and sleeping in the forest.²

Two weeks after the wreck of the *Gironde*, they reached New Orleans (August 7, 1727).³ A hearty welcome was given to the Sisters, and within a short time, they began convent life. With the opening of their school—the first Sisters' school in the United States—an educational record was begun which today is one of the glories of the Church in America. Burns has given us a detailed description of the school life of the Ursulines during this first century of their Order here. The school day was a short one—only four hours. The vacation period lasted three weeks. Reading, writing and arithmetic, with Christian doctrine and manual training, made up the programme of the day. "Some features of the Ursuline system of teaching," he writes, "were surprisingly modern, and throw a new light upon the educational ideas and methods of the period." One of these interesting features was the employment of pupil-teachers, called in the Rules *disainières*, thus antedating by many years the Lancaster-Bell system. The monitors were selected from among the brightest and best-behaved girls, and their duty was to assist the teachers in class-work and in the maintenance of discipline.

. . . .
Each *disainière* had her group of ten or so to look after. She admonished them of their faults, of which she was not, however, to inform the teacher, except it became necessary for their correction. . . . Another interesting feature of the Ursuline method of teaching was specializa-

² BURNS, *op. cit.*, p. 30. Cf. DEMET, *Religious Orders of Women in the United States*, pp. 23-25. Chicago, 1913.

³ Cf. *Records*, vol. i, pp. 214-243 (VOGEL, *The Ursuline Nuns in America*).

tion. . . . A great deal of time was devoted to industrial work. This was a feature of the Ursuline school everywhere. The pupils began by learning to knit and to stitch, and were taught gradually how to mend and make their own garments, as well as various articles of utility in the household. . . . While the pupils were engaged in this work, the Sister in charge, or one of the pupils, often read some interesting and instructive sketch or story.⁴

The Ursuline day-school and academy were supported by the French Government, and when the Spanish Government assumed control of Louisiana in 1769, the same support was continued. The Ursulines survived all the changes, political and ecclesiastical, which followed one another so quickly in the province. After the cession of Louisiana to Spain, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Quebec was transferred to Santiago de Cuba, and the Capuchin, Cyril de Barcelona, was made vicar-general of the province (1772). In 1781 he was consecrated Auxiliary-Bishop of Santiago, with residence in New Orleans. Six years later, when the Diocese of Santiago de Cuba was divided and Havana erected into a separate see, Louisiana was placed under the latter diocese. Bishop Joseph de Trespalacios became first Bishop of Havana, and Bishop Cyril of Barcelona continued as auxiliary to the new ordinary. The Holy See erected Louisiana and the Floridas into a separate diocese on April 25, 1793, and Bishop Louis Peñalver y Cardenas was appointed its chief shepherd. The new bishop arrived in New Orleans on July 17, 1795, remaining until 1801, when he was made Archbishop of Guatemala. From 1801 until October 1, 1805, the Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas, with New Orleans as the chief ecclesiastical centre, was governed by vicars-general; on that day Bishop Carroll assumed jurisdiction as administrator. De Laussat, the Commissioner of the French Republic, had formally transferred Louisiana to the United States on December 20, 1803, and Bishop Carroll was to all intents and purposes the sole head of the diocese, down to August 8, 1812, when he sent Father Du Bourg to New Orleans as administrator-apostolic. Du Bourg was consecrated Bishop of Louisiana, on September 24, 1815, about three months before Archbishop Carroll's death.

⁴ BURNS, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-79. Cf. GAYARRÉ, *History of Louisiana*, vol. 1, p. 248; FAY, *History of Education in Louisiana*. New Orleans, 1890.

During these many changes, the Ursulines continued to prosper, but there were constant rumors of confiscation by the French and the Spanish governments; and after the cession of Louisiana to the United States these rumors became more serious. "So little was the genius of the American government understood by her latest acquisition, that friends of the nuns, supposed to be well-informed, declared that the utmost concession they could expect was leave to remain in their monastery which, at the death of the last of them—they were forbidden to take novices—would be seized, with their lands in the city and suburbs, which were very considerable, by the American Government."⁵ The United States even after a quarter-century of constitutional life had not lived down, it would seem, the sad legacy for intolerance the English colonies had bequeathed to the new Republic. With the danger of confiscation in mind, the Reverend Mother Farjon wrote to Bishop Carroll informing him of the condition of affairs in New Orleans, on November 1, 1803.⁶ Bishop Carroll replied on February 14, 1804, that he had sent her letter to James Madison, then Secretary of State. On April 23, 1804, the Ursulines wrote to President Thomas Jefferson describing their uncertainty in a city where, as Father Bodkin told Dr. Carroll in a letter, dated New Orleans, January 3, 1804, "the Spanish, French and the American flags were flying" side-by-side.⁷ On July 20, 1804, Madison replied to Carroll as follows:

I have had the honour to lay before the President your letter of the 14th of December, who views with pleasure the public benefit resulting from the benevolent endeavours of the respectable persons in whose behalf it is written. Be assured that no opportunity will be neglected of manifesting the real interest he takes in promoting the means of affording to the youth of this new portion of the American dominion, a pious and useful education, and of evincing the grateful sentiments due to those of all religious persuasions who so laudably devote themselves in its diffusion. It was under the influence of such feelings that Governor Claiborne had already assured the ladies of this monastery of the entire protection which will be afforded them, after the recent change of Government.⁸

⁵ *The Ursulines in Louisiana*, p. 32.

⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11-06.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Case 1-19.

⁸ *The Ursulines in Louisiana*, p. 32.

In reply to Mother Farjon's letter, Jefferson wrote in his admirably courteous way, on August 22, 1804:

I have received, Holy Sisters, the letters you have written to me, wherein you express anxiety for the property vested in your institution by the former government of Louisiana. The principles of the Constitution and Government of the United States are a sure guaranty to you that it will be preserved to you sacred and inviolate, and that your institution will be permitted to govern itself according to its own voluntary rules, without interference from the civil authority. Whatever diversity of shade may appear in the religious opinions of our fellow-citizens, the charitable objects of your institution cannot be indifferent to any, and its furtherance of wholesome purposes by training up its young members in the way they should go, cannot fail to insure it the patronage of the Government it is under. Be assured it will meet with all the protection my office can give it.⁹

The authoress of *The Ursulines in Louisiana* writes:

Certainly Bishop Carroll himself could not write with more respect and appreciation of the Ursulines, and their high vocation as teachers of youth, than did the President of the United States. For years the nuns felt somewhat unsettled, as, indeed, did most of the inhabitants of Louisiana. Having changed masters three times in less than a month, many hoped, or, at least, expected, to be restored to their ancient rulers, and were indignant at being handed about from one Government to another, like so many head of cattle. Besides, owing to these frequent transfers of the Church of Louisiana, from Havana to New Orleans, to Havana, again to Quebec, and, finally, to Baltimore, religion was in a deplorable condition, and a large infusion of lawless and dangerous classes from all parts of the country did not lessen the existing evils. In 1812, Bishop Carroll sent Rev. William Du Bourg to rectify abuses, but he encountered so many obstacles from those who should have aided him, that he was compelled to place New Orleans under an interdict. For several years the cathedral was closed, and Mass was celebrated in the Ursuline chapel alone, by the only priest who had faculties, Abbé Olivier, who was over eighty years old.¹⁰

During the battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815, the classrooms of the Ursuline school were turned into a temporary hospital for the American soldiers, who were nursed by the Sisters. When the battle was raging between these untrained American troops and the English veterans, led by Pakenham,

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

one of Wellington's experienced generals, the ladies of New Orleans, gathered in the chapel of the Ursuline Nuns before the statue of Our Lady of Prompt Succour,¹¹ and their pious hearts "ascribed to her intercession the exercise of the Power that turned the tide of battle from their firesides and homes."¹² Jackson's victory has always appealed to the people of New Orleans as something bordering on the supernatural. With 6,000 young recruits he faced the flower of the British army. From the windows of their convent, the Ursulines watched the progress of the battle, and everything seemed to point to the hopelessness of the American position. Pakenham's promise of "booty and beauty" to the English soldiers could have only one meaning to the nuns, and it was that vile promise that sent them to their knees in prayer. Jackson had threatened to destroy the city which lay behind his trenches, in case of defeat, and the little Ursuline chapel was filled with the weeping wives, mothers, sisters and children of the town. On the morning of January 8, 1815, Father Du Bourg, then the administrator of the Diocese of Louisiana, offered the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass for the success of the Americans, and the nuns made a vow to create a Thanksgiving Day in perpetuity, if the Americans won. The Mass was not yet finished when the good news came that Jackson was the victor, and Father Du Bourg ended the services with a *Te Deum*.

Jackson himself, though not overburdened with piety, acknowledged to Du Bourg on January 9 that he regarded the victory as a sign of God's action in his favour: "The signal interposition of Heaven in giving success to our arms requires some external manifestation of the feelings of our most lively gratitude. Permit me, therefore, to entreat that you will cause the service of public thanksgiving to be performed in the Cathedral, in token of the great assistance we have received from the Ruler of all events, and of our humble sense of it."¹³ In compliance with this noble request, Father Du Bourg celebrated a solemn

¹¹ This remarkable statue was brought from France by eight Ursulines, who arrived in Philadelphia, on June 8, 1810, bound for New Orleans, which city they reached on December 30, 1810. (Cf. *Researches*, vol. xviii, p. 32.) The Ursulines of New Orleans publish a periodical, *The Messenger of Our Lady of Prompt Succor* (1919—), which contains many valuable historical sketches of old Louisiana.

¹² *SHRA*, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 672.

¹³ LATOUR, *Historical Memoir of the War*, p. 68. Philadelphia, 1816.

Mass of Thanksgiving in the Cathedral, on January 23, 1815, and, in receiving General Jackson at the door of the Cathedral, he thanked him publicly for his recognition of the "Prime Mover of your wonderful success." The same day, General Jackson with his staff visited the Ursulines to thank them for their prayers.¹⁴

In a few short years the Ursuline Academy will celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of its foundation. The history of their heroic voyage across the Atlantic in 1727 in order to take up their labours in Louisiana will then be told in all its details. Under the flags of France, of Spain, and of the United States, this oldest institution for the education of girls in the United States has succeeded where many similar institutions, erected since that day, by Catholics and non-Catholics, have failed and perished. Through many serious vicissitudes they lived, carrying on admirably their work of educating the young girls of New Orleans and of Louisiana. The consecration of Bishop Du Bourg in 1815 gave them great hopes for the future. It would seem from a note in the Propaganda Archives that they had written to Rome urging that Father Du Bourg be encouraged to remain in Louisiana. Propaganda replied in September, 1815, that there was no danger of Du Bourg's returning to France, as they feared, for he had been consecrated bishop of the territory, and was about to return home. Bishop Du Bourg was then in Rome, trying to secure several additional Sisters for the work at New Orleans. On May 2, 1815, the nuns wrote to Pope Pius VII asking for permission to return to France. His Holiness replied (October 16, 1815):

Madame,

Your letter of May 2, reached us only towards the end of September. We are very sensible of your good wishes for our preservation and the success of our enterprises, always directed to the glory of God and the advantage of the Church. As to the inquietudes that agitate you regarding your spiritual direction, they cannot last, for M. Du Bourg has received from us Bulls, and has been consecrated at Rome, by our order, Bishop of the Diocese of New Orleans, to which he will soon return. You may, then, be tranquil as to your future, and give up the project of going to France; you can do much more for religion where

¹⁴ Later, as President of the United States, Jackson had the rare privilege of entering the cloister of the convent; cf. *Records*, vol. i, pp. 240-242.

you are. Therefore, we exhort you to redouble your zeal for young persons of your sex, and for the eternal salvation of your neighbour. We have your community continually present to our mind, especially in our prayers to obtain for you all the graces you need, and we give you, with effusion of heart, our Apostolic Benediction.¹⁵

For some years after Bishop Du Bourg's return the situation of the school and academy was precarious, but little by little the Ursulines regained their old-time vigour and were soon on the road to the prosperity and success they have enjoyed ever since that troublous time.

In the Baltimore Cathedral Archives there are many letters to Bishop Carroll from the superiors of convents in Europe asking for a welcome to the Diocese of Baltimore. As early as July 28, 1789, the Ursulines of Cork had gained such popularity with their parochial schools that some of their friends urged them to send a band of teachers to the United States,¹⁶ and the effort made by Father Thayer after his return to Ireland in 1803 to secure a group of ladies for his proposed Ursuline Convent in Boston deserves mention in this chapter. The young ladies in question came after Father Thayer's death (1815), and founded the convent at Charlestown, Mass., which was burned down by a mob in 1834; three of the nuns took refuge with their Ursuline Sisters in New Orleans. A group of Ursulines from Cork came to New York in 1813 at the invitation of Father Anthony Kohlmann, S. J., the Administrator of the Diocese of New York. On April 7, 1813, Kohlmann informed Dr. Carroll of their safe arrival "after the remarkably short passage of twenty-two days."¹⁷ They opened a free school and an academy and were incorporated by a special act of the New York Legislature in 1814. In leaving Cork, their superiors conditioned their stay in New York. Unless they should succeed in obtaining a sufficient number of novices within three years, they were obliged to return to Ireland. Not meeting with success, they sailed for Ireland in the spring of 1815.

During the eighteenth century the English Carmelite Convent at Hoogstraet, Belgium, had attracted a number of American

¹⁵ *Ursulines in Louisiana*, p. 34.

¹⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-J10.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Case 4-L13.

girls, and, at the close of the Revolutionary War, its superioress was an American lady, Mother Bernardine of St. Joseph, known in the world as Ann Matthews. Mother Bernardine was born in Charles County, Maryland, in 1732. At the age of twenty-three she received the veil at Hoogstraet on December 3, 1755. She was elected prioress of the Carmelite convent there on April 13, 1774. There were with her at Hoogstraet her nieces, Sister Mary Aloysia (Ann Theresa Matthews), and Sister Mary Eleanor (Susanna Matthews), both of whom accompanied her to Port Tobacco in 1790. Two other American ladies, Mother Ann of Our Blessed Lady (Ann Louisa Hill), Bishop Carroll's cousin, and Sister Mary Florentine (Ann Mills) remained at Hoogstraet. The disturbed condition of religious life in Belgium (1781-1790) due to the Gallican reform movement instituted by Joseph II, the "Sacristan Emperor," and the general threat of the advancing forces of the French Revolutionists were felt by all religious houses in the Austrian dominions. It is not certain whether the decree of 1789 by which the Emperor suppressed all the Carmelite houses in the Low Countries included the English nuns of that Order. No doubt this general disorder, together with the fact of American Independence, induced Mother Bernardine to come to America in 1790. Father Ignatius Matthews, her brother, had written to Mother Bernardine, urging her to come to the United States, and the confessor at Hoogstraet, Father Charles Neale, offered the nuns a farm at Port Tobacco, Maryland, for the support of the proposed American convent. The Lanherne (England) Carmelite archives contain several letters from Mother Bernardine describing the voyage across the Atlantic. While in London, Dr. Carroll had been informed by his cousin, Ann Louisa Hill (Mother Ann of Our Blessed Lady), in a letter dated Hoogstraet, August 8, 1790, that Father Neale, their confessor, had left for Maryland with three or four Carmelites to found a house in the new Diocese of Baltimore. With the approbation of the Bishop of Antwerp, four nuns had already left (April 19, 1790). It was at this time that Mother Ann wrote the words which have already been cited: "I must acknowledge that it is a subject of joy to me to hear our Holy Faith and Religion flourishes so much in my native country, and that Religious are permitted to make estab-

lishments there, and live up to the spirit of their Holy Institutes. I am glad our Holy Order is the first."¹⁸

Bishop-elect Carroll had no doubt been informed by Father Ignatius Matthews of the project, but there is no mention in Carroll's correspondence on the matter.¹⁹ One writer states that "his first act after his appointment was to invite the Carmelites to his vast diocese to pray for the American Missions."²⁰ The little band was composed of Father Charles Neale, Father Robert Plunkett, the first President of Georgetown College, Mother Bernardine Matthews, prioress of the new community, Sister Clare Joseph Dickinson, an English nun from Antwerp, subprioress, and Sisters Mary Aloysia and Eleanor Matthews. They reached New York on July 2, 1790, some few days after Carroll's departure. The journey was a trying one, from several causes, not the least of which was the captain, "a poor, little, mean-spirited, stingy Scotchman, who had provided very slender provisions or necessities for passengers." They left New York on July 4, reaching Norfolk on the ninth. The following day they arrived "at Mr. Bobby Brent's Landing, which is about a mile from my nephew Ignatius's House."²¹ Difficulties arose

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Case 6-G4; printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 251-253. Father Charles Neale, S.J., was a novice at Ghent in 1773. He was teaching the grammar class at Liège in 1776. Father Neale had been their Chaplain in Belgium, and he continued to be their Spiritual Director, until his death in 1823. (Cf. *Records*, vol. xix, p. 245.)

¹⁹ Cf. the introductory note to Coghlan's edition of the *Address of the Roman Catholics of America to George Washington* (London, 1790).

²⁰ DERRY, *op. cit.*, p. 31. There is no record of this in Carroll's correspondence. SHEA (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 383) states that letters passed between Carroll and the Bishop of Antwerp.

²¹ GUILDAY, *English Catholic Refugees, etc.*, pp. 372-374, from the Archives of the Carmelite Convent at Lanherne, England: "The account of the journey to the American Foundation, 1790, from the Revd. Mother to the Confessor at Hoogetraet: I believe it will be agreeable to hear of our safe arrival in Maryland & the particulars of our journey: After we left the *Texal*, which was the first of May (I wrote from thence the day we sailed & sent the letter by the Pilot to Amsterdam to be put in the post) we had a good voyage & not very long considering the course we passed: the Captain deceived us, saying that he was bound for New York & Philadelphia, but we found afterwards he did not intend going to Philadelphia, but had taken in a parcel of goods to deliver at Tenerife one of the Canary Islands belonging to Spain, at a Town called Sancta Cruce, which we knew not when we engaged with him, he sailed down the southern Latitudes, which made it very hot, & was 2000 miles further than we should have gone had he sailed direct for America. We put to the coast of Normandy, crossed the mouth of the Bay of Biscay, had a short calm on the coast of Spain, passed the Cape of St. Vincent, by the Straits of Gibraltar, saw the Port of St. Julian, where the poor Jesuits suffered so much, passed by Morocco in Barbary, off the coast of Africa. On the 20th of May we saw the Canary Islands, on the 22nd saw the Island of Tenerife, the 23rd Whit-Sunday, entered the Port of Sancta Cruce,

over the location of the convent, and, in Bishop Carroll's absence, they were advised to settle near Port Tobacco in a house on the Brooke estate. On October 15, 1790, St. Teresa's day, this first house for contemplative religious in the United States was dedi-

where we cast anchor & lay there till Thursday evening following, from thence we sailed the course called the Trades & had good winds and weather, only one or two slight storms & arrived at New-york the 2nd of July, our passage was very disagreeable on account of the passengers, a man and his wife with 3 little children, who were crying almost from morning till night & the man and his wife very disagreeable people, who were often wrangling and quarreling, the Captain a poor little mean spirited stingy Scotchman, who had provided very slender provisions or necessaries for passengers, his bread from the first was mouldy & not fit to eat & so little of it, that he put his men to allowance as soon as we had left Santa Cruce, where he had an opportunity of furnishing his ship with fresh bread & other provisions if he would, but he was so stingy, although his crew had threatened to leave him if he did not provide better, he only took in one barrel of flour, & a quarter or two of poor Beef with a old sheep, indeed if we had met with bad weather to have detained us longer on the voyage, we should have been in danger of perishing for want of provisions, the water was so bad that it was not fit to drink, we were obliged to strain it through a cloth & let it stand a day to sweeten before we could drink it, we were all very sea-sick excepting Mr. Neale, mine did not last long, but the others were sick as often as the weather was rough all the passage, & Mr. Neale had a bad fit of gout, that he could get no rest hardly for 14 days: I wrote to the Nuns from New York, which we left on the 4th of July Sunday, & arrived at Norfolk on Friday morning the 9th where we hired a vessel, to pursue our journey, & sailed from thence the same day in the evening: & on Saturday evening the 10th we arrived safe to Mr. Bobby Brent's landing, which is about a mile from my Nephew Ignatius's House, it was then too late to land our baggage, but we met with a man who was going out to fish, & we prevailed on him to return to shore with a letter to Mr. Brent & Ignatius, to inform them of our arrival, to desire them to come to us early in the morning. Ignatius came off immediately, & came on board our vessel about 10 o'clock on Saturday night, my Nephew returned on shore that night & came to us again on Sunday morning about 5 o'clock, when we landed with all our baggage & went up to Mr. Brent's, where Mr. Neale said Mass about 8 o'clock, we dined there & in the evening went over to Barry's house, intending to make that our habitation till a more convenient place could be provided, we remained there 8 days: it was then judged more proper that we should come to Mr. Neale's house by Port Tobacco, which was much larger & not inhabited, we put on our Habits the 2nd day after our arrival here & keep our regularity as well as we can, a place was agreed on for our Convent, much to our satisfaction in St. Mary's County, but some difficulties arose about it & Mr. Carroll being in England about 3 weeks before our arrival, his Vicar thought proper we should chuse another place, & Mr. Baker Brooke has made us a present of his own dwelling, with several acres of land round about it to make a Convent of. Mr. Plunket parted from us at New York & travelled the rest of his journey by land, he came to see us since our arrival & is now on the Mission. There went to America The Revd. Mother of Hoogstraet, Prioress, Sister Clare Joseph, Dickenson of our Comty, Sub-prioress. Sister Mary Aloysia & Sister Eleanora Mathews, (2. Young Professed of Hoogstraet,) Nieces of the Revd. Mother & our Confessor Mr. Charles Neale, all natives of America, except our Sister Clare." The fourth member of the little band of Carmelites who settled at Port Tobacco was Sister Mary Clare Joseph, who was a Miss Dickinson, from the English Convent at Antwerp. It is not stated whether she was English or American, but most probably she was English, because there is no mention of any American novices in the *Lanherne Annals*. (*Lanherne Annals*, ff. 81-84.)

cated. On his return to Baltimore, Bishop Carroll lost no time in welcoming the little community to his diocese.

In his letter to Antonelli, of April 23, 1792, he said: "The Carmelite nuns, who emigrated from Belgium nearly two years ago, have obtained a site in Maryland, on which a house and farm were given to them by the pious liberality of a Catholic gentleman. Four nuns came here, and others have since been admitted for probation. They are a salutary example to the people of the vicinity, and their singular piety has moved even non-Catholics to admiration. Their convent would be a far greater benefit in the future if a school for the training of girls in piety and learning were begun by them." This suggestion was discussed in a general congregation at Propaganda, on August 13, 1792. It was acknowledged that the nuns would be of a greater advantage to the Diocese of Baltimore, if they were to establish a school for the training of young girls in religion and in the domestic arts. No decision was given, but on September 29, 1792, Antonelli replied: "We have rejoiced exceedingly that the Carmelite nuns, recently arrived in Maryland from Belgium, have been enabled through the generosity of pious friends to find a home for themselves. While they are not to be urged to undertake the care of young girls against their rule, they should be exhorted not to refuse this work, which will be so pleasing to God and which is badly needed on account of the great scarcity of workers and lack of educational facilities." Bishop Carroll made this known to Mother Bernardine on March 1, 1793, telling her permission to start a school had been granted:

I had letters lately from Rome; I had given in mine an account of your settlement, and of the sweet odor of your good example, and had taken the liberty to add that, in order to render your usefulness still greater, I wished that it were consistent with your constitution to employ yourselves in the education of young persons of your own sex. The Cardinal-Prefect of the Propaganda, having laid my letter before his Holiness, informs me that it gave him incredible joy to find that you were come hither to diffuse the knowledge and practice of religious perfection, and adds that: considering the great scarcity of labourers and the defects of education in these States, you might sacrifice that part of your institution to the promotion of a greater good: and I am directed to encourage you to undertake it; and now, in obedience to his direction I recommend to your Reverence and your holy Community, to take it

into your consideration. I am exceedingly pleased at the increase of your most religious family; every addition to it I look upon as a safeguard for the preservation of the diocese. Praying Almighty God to grant His choicest blessings on yourself and your pious community, I am, with fatherly affection and high esteem, honored Madam, your most obed't serv't in Christ.²²

The Carmelites were unwilling, however, to change their Rule in this respect, because the principal object of the community was contemplation and prayer. The bishop himself, trained to a religious life and feeling as the great blow of his life the decree which exiled him from it, could not press these pious women to adopt a course repugnant to them, for he regarded the community as a safeguard for the preservation of the diocese.²³ The Carmelites had come to pray for the American Missions, for the clergy and for the Church in general. The life of a Carmelite nun is a distinctly contemplative one. Active work, such as nursing the sick or teaching children, is outside the scope of a cloistered community, where the day is spent in prayer and meditation and the ordinary work of the household. The Port Tobacco community preserved the strict observance of the cloister. In Maréchal's day they numbered twenty-three nuns, and he reported to Propaganda that they were being well cared for by the Catholics of that vicinity. "They lead such holy lives," he writes, "these virgins of St. Theresa, that I can scarcely believe there exists in the whole Catholic world, a house of their Order where piety and monastic discipline are better observed."²⁴ In

²² Cf. *United States Catholic Magazine*, vol. viii, p. 25 (From the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-Ja); cf. CURRIER, *Carmel in America*. New York, 1901.

²³ Cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 386. "Your American Carmelites are indeed to blame for neglecting the education of children of their own sex and probably no other nuns fit for that duty will emigrate to you. If they are guided by Mr. C. Neale I am not surprised that they are inflexible. I used to think that gentleman the most unaccommodating and uncomplying man of virtue that I have ever known. The spirit may belong to some degree to the family and I apprehend that the uneasiness which you express about the college and Seminary may originate from the Brothers of that name." (Plowden to Carroll, January 26, 1801, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 6-Qa.)

²⁴ Cf. *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. i, p. 442. In a letter to the writer, the Prioress of the Carmelite Monastery, of Baltimore, explains this situation as follows: "As for your first and second questions, in a letter written by Bishop Carroll to Mother Bernardina, dated March 1, 1793, His Lordship merely states that a young exiled Religious wished to associate herself with the Carmelites, and keep up her work of teaching. The Bishop added that while sending an account of the Foundation to Rome, he took the liberty to obtain for them permission to teach, as it was difficult

1830, the nuns decided to seek a more convenient place for their house and they came to Baltimore, the following year.

To share in the trials as well as in the triumphs of the Catholic Church has been the privilege and the fate of all religious Orders. Wars, and especially the so-called wars of religion, revolutions of various kinds, and the covetousness of governments have more than once in the Church's history wrought havoc in monastic institutions. Few among the religious communities in modern times have suffered more than the Second Order of St. Francis, or, as they are popularly known, the Poor Clares. The Order which began with St. Clare herself in 1212, numbered in 1630 about 925 monasteries of nuns, with 34,000 sisters under the direction of a minister-general. By some chroniclers the entire congregation at the time of the Thirty Years' War is given as 70,000 sisters.²⁸ With the gradual lessening of religious fervour in the sixteenth century, this wonderful growth began to show signs of decline, and when the French Revolution dispersed the religious Orders of Europe, many of the houses were disbanded and the nuns forced to return to secular life. America was a land of refuge for some of these persecuted women, and, in 1792, three heroic nuns, Mother Mary de la Marche, Abbess of St. Clare, Mother Céleste de la Rochefoucault, and Mother St. Luc, attended by a lay brother, came to Baltimore. They attempted first to start a house of their Order at Frederick, Md. In 1801, they bought property in Georgetown, where they opened an academy for girls, and here Miss Lalor and her two companions,

to obtain Religious instructors for the young in those days. He advised them to give the matter prayerful consideration, but there was absolutely no authorization to do so.

"The Nuns did not avail themselves at that time of the dispensation, because the Order being strictly enclosed and solely devoted to contemplation, it was deemed more proper for the cradle of the Order in the United States to develop and foster the true spirit, that it might be bequeathed untarnished to future generations. There was no real need, for negotiations were even then going on to introduce Active Orders into the United States, and the Carmelites had come to pray for the American Missions, for the Clergy, and for the Church in general.

"It was not until the year 1832 that the Nuns were forced by the direst poverty to take up teaching in order to earn their subsistence, being fully justified by a clause of our Rule which reminds us that 'necessity knows no law.' They discontinued teaching within a few years, and, I may add, they had few facilities for teaching even when they were obliged to; far less were they prepared for the work when it was suggested to them by Bishop Carroll."

²⁸ HEIMBUCHER, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche*, vol. ii, pp. 478-480. Paderborn, 1907.

who were later to found the first Visitation Convent in America, taught for some time. When Abbess de la Marche died in 1805, the other Poor Clares gave up the struggle and returned to Europe. The school opened by the Poor Clares had the distinction of being the first conducted by Sisters within the original United States.

The academy established by the Poor Clares at Georgetown was destined, however, to continue and, as the first Convent of the Visitation Order in the United States, it became eventually one of the best-known of all the educational institutions founded in the United States for the training of young girls. The actual founder of the Visitation Convent and Academy was Archbishop Leonard Neale.²⁶ Leonard Neale was descended from an old and distinguished Maryland family, and was one of seven sons, six of whom either entered the Society of Jesus, or applied for admission after their studies at St. Omer's, Bruges, or Liège. On the Suppression of the Society, Father Leonard Neale went to England where he was engaged in pastoral work for five years. He was then sent to Demarara in British Guiana. His health failing, he returned to his home in Maryland (1783), after twenty-five years' absence, and Bishop Carroll, then Prefect-Apostolic, appointed him pastor of St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia. When Father Laurence Graessl, Coadjutor-Bishop-elect of Baltimore, died in October, 1793, Bishop Carroll with the consent of his clergy chose Father Neale as his Coadjutor *cum jure successionis*. This choice proved acceptable to the Holy See and the necessary Bulls were issued on April 17, 1795. It was not until 1800 that these official documents reached Carroll, and the consecration of Leonard Neale as Bishop of Gortyna did not take place until December 7, 1800. It was during this period of waiting that Miss Alice Lalor came from Ireland to Philadelphia with her parents. She and her two companions had long desired to devote themselves to the religious life, and it was evident to Father Neale, to whom they came for direction, that they might be able to carry out a plan of long-standing in his mind, namely, to found a convent of the Visitandines in this country. The three ladies formed themselves into a community under his care. There

²⁶ LATHEROP, *A Story of Courage*. Boston, 1895.

was indeed great need of devoted women in Philadelphia at the time, for the yellow fever, which decimated the population of the city in 1793, had broken out again in 1797, and in the summer of 1798 the plague carried off a fourth of the inhabitants of the city. A third lady from Philadelphia joined the little band, but the community lost the other two companions of Miss Lalor by the plague, and the project of a permanent convent in Philadelphia was abandoned. On March 30, 1799, Neale became the fourth President of Georgetown College, and he invited Miss Lalor and her companions to become teachers in the Poor Clares' Academy which Mother de la Marche had founded. This arrangement not proving satisfactory, Father Neale purchased a house near the College, and the "Pious Ladies," as they were known, opened a school for girls. A Rule similar to that of the Society of Jesus was adopted for the time. When the Poor Clares left Georgetown for France in 1805, Bishop Neale purchased their property. Among the books in their library, he found the Constitutions of the Order of the Visitation drawn up by St. Francis de Sales. An attempt was made to induce some members of the Order in France to come to America in order that Miss Lalor and her companions might be rightly prepared for their religious life, but this failed, and for a time it looked as if the little community might be forced to merge with the Carmelites at Port Tobacco. But Bishop Neale turned a deaf ear to these offers. Bishop Carroll wrote to Charles Plowden on February 12, 1803, asking him to urge two of the nuns under his care to come to Maryland for the purpose of organizing the religious life of the community:

My Coadjutor, the Rt. Rev. Bishop Neale, has formed under the conduct of four or five very pious Ladies, a female Academy at Georgetown, and has acquired for them a handsome property of lots and houses. These ladies, long trained to all the exercises of an interior religious life, are exceedingly anxious to bind themselves more closely to God by entering into an approved religious order, whose institute embraces the education of young persons of their own sex, poor and rich. Mr. Byrne and others have given information here of your having under your care a house of religious women, whose useful and exemplary conduct has gained general esteem and confidence. Now the prayer of Bishop Neale and, I may add mine, too, is this: that you would choose and if possible, engage two of those Ladies, fully approved by you, to leave their country

and sisters and friends to establish here a house of their order. One of them ought to be fit to become immediately the superior and mistress of novices, and the other to preside in the female academy. The two principal ladies of this institution are natives of Ireland, and both women of exemplary and even perfect lives. I know not whether one of them, whose name is Lalor, be not known to you. Bishop Neale hopes that Mr. Byrne will return and take them under his care; and he will be answerable for all their expenses.²⁷

Various other attempts were made to induce the Visitandines in England to send several of the nuns out to America with the object of beginning aright the religious life of the "Pious Ladies" of Georgetown.²⁸ Dr. Carroll wrote to Dublin and to Brussels but failed to secure volunteers for the work. On June 11, 1808, Father Strickland informed Dr. Carroll that the Visitation nuns of Acton were seriously considering the proposal, and Father Plowden, who had written as early as July 30, 1792, on the problem, still hoped to induce the Visitandines, then at Hammer-smith (London), to go out to Georgetown. Hardly anything occupied so much of Neale's time as Coadjutor-Bishop of Baltimore (1800-1815) as the founding of the Convent at Georgetown. Difficulties never ceased with the community, and it was not until 1813 that Bishop Neale permitted the "Ladies" to take simple vows as Sisters of the Order of the Visitation. When he succeeded as Bishop of Baltimore in December, 1815, one of his first official acts was to apply to the Holy See for canonical power to erect the community into a religious house of that Order. By an Indult dated July 14, 1816, Pius VII granted this petition, and on December 28, 1816, Mother Teresa Lalor and the two oldest Sisters pronounced their solemn vows and were clothed in the Visitation habit. On January 6, 1817, the white veil was given to seventeen sisters, and eight days later the rest of the community, then numbering thirty-five, were received as nuns of the Order of the Visitation. Archbishop Neale died at the convent on June 18, 1817, and was buried in a vault beneath the chapel.²⁹

²⁷ SHRA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 503-504.

²⁸ Sister Theresa Hurard to Carroll, Acton, England, June 2, 1807. (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 4-G7.)

²⁹ Cf. *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. vi, pp. 381-386. [M. S. PINE], *A Glory of Maryland*. New York, 1917.

Bishop Carroll mentions in a letter to Bishop Hubert of Quebec, April 24, 1795, the presence of a Minim Sister of the Order of St. Francis de Paula (Felicity Gerard) who had fled from France on account of the Revolution, and he asked that an arrangement be made with the Ursuline nuns of Quebec to receive her into their community. This nun had accompanied several Capuchin nuns from Amiens and Tours, refugees from the persecution of the day. They remained for a while with the Carmelites at Port Tobacco, and then returned to Baltimore, where Dr. Carroll placed them with a Catholic lady. The Capuchin nuns set out for Illinois where they hoped to find a place in one of the French parishes, but later they went to New Orleans. It is not certain what happened to Sister Felicity Gerard, but she was probably received into the Diocese of Quebec by Bishop Hubert. A long letter, of the same date as Dr. Carroll's, from her pen explains her plight. She arrived in Baltimore on February 9, 1793 "*auprès de Monseigneur l'évêque de Baltimore qui a bien voulu m'honorer de sa protection et de ses bontés.*" Canon De Lavau, who had accompanied the Sulpicians to Baltimore, advised her to apply to the Bishop of Quebec for permission to enter the Ursulines there.

There are also in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives several letters from a Sister Elizabeth Saladin of the Daughters of St. Geneviève, who arrived in Baltimore about this time in the same plight as Sister Felicity. Dr. Carroll seems to have been worried over their presence in his diocese, for we find him writing to Propaganda on July 3 and October 21, 1793, asking for advice in regard to these refugees. Propaganda replied on August 10, 1794, urging Dr. Carroll to find them a refuge either in Canada or in Louisiana. Sister Elizabeth found a place in the West Indies, and wrote occasionally to Dr. Carroll to assure him of her progress.

The foundation of the first distinctly American congregation of religious women, the Daughters of Charity, is due to Archbishop Carroll's personal influence with Elizabeth Bayley Seton and to his constant encouragement in the decade of trials and afflictions which followed her conversion to the Catholic faith in 1805.

There are few lives among the saintly women of America who have consecrated themselves in religion to the service of their neighbor, that deserve to be known better by all the citizens of this land, irrespective of creed, than that of Mother Elizabeth Ann Seton. She was in reality an ideal woman, as described in Holy Scripture, in the best and highest sense of the word. She was a devoted wife, a tender mother, and a true religious; and both by her virtues, the sublimity of her love of God, as well as by her prudence and her practical grasp of affairs, her life has a charm all its own and is enhanced with the number of great personages, both civil and ecclesiastical, who shared in her plans and projects.⁸⁰

Chief amongst these was John Carroll. He was not alone, however, in the realization that Elizabeth Seton was destined in the providence of God to be the foundress of Catholic elementary education in the United States. The Catholic parochial school training of the present day may justly be said to have been organized by her. The prominent ecclesiastics of the day—Bishop Carroll and Fathers Cheverus, Matignon, Du Bourg, David, Dubois, and Bruté, all eminent educators, saw in her conversion and in her devotion to the training of the young the solution of the educational problem which dated back to the earliest Jesuit schools in Maryland. The letters which passed between Bishop Carroll and Mother Seton give us an unusual insight into the saintly character of these two pioneers of the Cross in the new Republic. It is this correspondence, together with her work for the sanctification of souls, which caused the late Cardinal Gibbons, in 1880, to urge that steps be taken for Mother Seton's canonization.

Elizabeth Ann Bayley Seton was the most noted convert to the Church during Bishop Carroll's lifetime. Her father, Dr. Richard Bayley, was the first professor of anatomy at Columbia University, New York City, where Elizabeth was born on August 28, 1774. At the age of twenty, on January 25, 1794, she was married to William Magee Seton, a merchant of the metropolis. Five children blessed the union—William, Richard, Anna Maria, Catherine, and Rebecca. Born and reared a devout Anglican, Mrs. Seton spared no effort to raise her own children and the children of her father by a second marriage, in strict accord with the Anglican faith. Her husband's health failed in

⁸⁰ McCANN, *The History of Mother Seton's Daughters*, vol. 1, pp. 12-13. New York, 1917.

1803, and they made a voyage to Italy, at the earnest invitation of the Filicchi family in Leghorn, with whom Mr. Seton had business relations. Unfortunately Mr. Seton received no benefit from the sea voyage, and died at Pisa, on December 27, 1803. Elizabeth became ill about the same time, and during her convalescence, she began to study the doctrines and the history of the Catholic Church. On her return to New York, in 1804, it soon became known that she contemplated asking admission into the Church, and the prominence of her family and that of her husband made the project of her conversion a widely discussed subject. Effort was made to dissuade her from taking a step which was so unusual at that time. Through her friends, the Filicchis, she was introduced by letter to Father Cheverus and to Bishop Carroll. After some months spent in prayer and study she was received into the Church by Father Matthew O'Brien, in St. Peter's Church, Barclay Street, in March, 1805.⁸¹

Left almost penniless by the death of her husband, Mrs. Seton first opened a home for the boys of a Protestant school, near St. Mark's Church, but her influence in the conversion of her sister-in-law, Cecilia Seton, aroused so much resentment that she was obliged to close the house. Mr. Filicchi advised her to settle in Montreal, where she could place her children in a convent school and pay for their education by teaching. About this time, she made the acquaintance of Father Du Bourg, who had founded St. Mary's College in Baltimore the previous year (1805). Their friendship, begun at this time, turned the current of her life towards the fuller consecration of herself in religion. Father Du Bourg suggested that she come to Baltimore and found a school for Catholic girls near St. Mary's College. On November 26, 1806, Mrs. Seton wrote to Bishop Carroll, asking his advice and direction "in a case of the greatest moment to my happiness here, and to my eternal happiness."⁸² There is no doubt that Father Du Bourg, together with her other counsellors, Fathers Cheverus and Matignon, saw in Mrs. Seton the possible foundress of a community of women who would devote themselves to the training of the young, in schools,

⁸¹ Cf. *Questions anent Mother Seton's Conversion*, by SOUVAY, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. v, pp. 223-238.

⁸² The Carroll-Seton correspondence used by White, McCann and others is in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 7-M4-10, N1-15.

asylums, and orphanages. The project seems to have been neglected for a time, probably owing to the attitude Bishop Carroll had assumed regarding the college in Baltimore; but finally in June, 1808, Mrs. Seton set out by packet for Baltimore, reaching the episcopal city on June 15. A few days afterwards, she brought her two sons, William and Richard, whose education at Georgetown College was being provided for by the Filicchis, to St. Mary's College, so that they might have the advantage of her motherly influence. Bishop Carroll had no hesitation in warmly seconding Mrs. Seton's plan to begin a school for Catholic girls in the city and in September, 1808, the institution was opened for classes. Only the children of Catholic parents were admitted, the main object of the school being to impart a solid religious instruction together with the elements of learning. "Her pupils said morning and evening prayers in common, recited the Rosary together, and assisted at daily Mass. The course of studies embraced the usual branches of a young ladies' academy, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, plain and fancy needle work, and the English and French languages, to which was added Christian Doctrine, which she impressed deeply on their minds."⁸³

The thought of founding a religious community for this important work gradually took possession of her mind, and when it became known that such was her intention, other ladies expressed a desire to join her at Baltimore. Her first companions were: Cecilia O'Conway, "Philadelphia's first nun,"⁸⁴ who came on December 7, 1808; Maria Murphy, a niece of Mathew Carey, the publisher of Philadelphia; Mary Ann Butler; Susan Clossy; Mrs. Rose White; and Catherine Mullen. Father Du Bourg drew up a code of rules for the religious life of the tentative community, the members being at first known as the Sisters of St. Joseph. There was at this time in St. Mary's Seminary, close to which the little school was begun, a Virginian, Samuel Cooper, a convert and a gentleman of means who was preparing for the priesthood.⁸⁵ Mrs. Seton gained his interest and good

⁸³ WHITE, *Life of Mrs. Elizabeth Seton*, pp. 210ss. New York, 1853.

⁸⁴ Cf. FLICK, *Mathias James O'Conway*, in the *Records*, vol. x, pp. 257-299; SMITH, *Philadelphia's First Nun*, *ibid.*, vol. v, pp. 417-522.

⁸⁵ Cf. *Researches*, vol. xv, pp. 178s.

will in her project, and the generous sum of eight thousand dollars was set aside by Mr. Cooper for the new community. In choosing a home for her sisters in religion, Mother Seton was influenced by Mr. Cooper's choice, the now well-known St. Joseph's Valley near Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg. Bishop Carroll gave his approval to this plan, and Mother Seton took possession of a little house in the Valley, offered to her by the Sulpicians, on July 30, 1809. The Sisters continued to live under the temporary rule drawn up by Father Du Bourg until 1810 when Bishop Flaget obtained in France a copy of the constitutions which St. Vincent de Paul had drawn up (1663) for the Sisters of Charity. These were carefully studied by Mother Seton, Archbishop Carroll and Father Du Bourg.

After careful consideration and study, it was determined to adopt as far as possible the rules of the Daughters of Charity. The principal point on which the rules were changed in order to adapt them to American conditions concerned the activities of the Sisters in the schools, for the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent devoted themselves entirely to the service of children unable to pay for their education. This could be done in France because the nuns had an assured income from other sources. In the United States, on the contrary, Mother Seton's Sisterhood had no income whatever, and the Sisters must therefore earn their daily bread in part by their teaching activity. However, from the beginning, Mother Seton's community devoted themselves largely to the education of the poor, and in later years this has been their principal work. Father Dubois (then Superior), therefore, felt obliged to recommend to Bishop Carroll a change in the rules so as to allow the American Sisterhood to take charge of schools for pupils who should pay for their tuition. Another proposed change was temporary. This permitted Mother Seton, notwithstanding her vows, to remain the legal guardian of her children.²⁶

These changes were approved by Father Jean Tessier, the Superior of St. Sulpice, who had been deputed to examine them, and the Rule was then formally adopted by Archbishop Carroll in September, 1811. He had visited the community at St. Joseph's Valley, on October 20, 1809, and several times afterwards, and continued to show an unfaltering interest in Mother Seton's work until his death. Mother Seton was elected Superior of the Daughters of Charity, as they were then known, and remained in the post until her death, January 4, 1821. In one of his

²⁶ HERBERMANN, *The Sulpicians, etc.*, p. 224.

letters to Mother Seton, dated September 11, 1811, Archbishop Carroll said:

Assure yourself and your beloved Sisters of my utmost solicitude for your advancement in the service and favor of God; of my reliance on your prayers; of mine for your prosperity in the important duty of education, which will and must long be your principal, and will always be your partial, employment. A century at least will pass before the exigencies and habits of this country will require and hardly admit of the charitable exercises towards the sick, sufficient to employ any number of the Sisters out of our largest cities; and therefore they must consider the business of education as a laborious, charitable, and permanent object of their religious duty.³⁷

At this time there were twenty Sisters in the institution at St. Joseph's Valley, and with such excellent spiritual guides as Father David, who succeeded Du Bourg, and Father Simon Bruté, who had been appointed to assist Dubois in the work of Mount St. Mary's College, and Father Dubois himself, the little community began its long and active life of devotion to educational and charitable works. In 1810, the Sisters opened a free school in Emmitsburg for the poor children of the neighbourhood, and this, together with the Academy, kept the little band busy from morning till night. By June, 1809, forty pupils, thirty of whom were boarders, were in attendance in the school. Before Mother Seton's death, the Sisters had opened other free schools at Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore, and had founded orphan asylums in the same cities. The community numbered fifty members in 1821.

Another community, the Sisters of St. Dominic, contemplated the foundation of a house in America. Plowden wrote to Carroll on July 30, 1791, of a convent of Dominican nuns at Calais, whose prioress "Mrs. Gray, highly commended by all here, wishes to transport herself and some of her nuns to your coast. Do you approve of it? The object is to establish a convent expressly for the education of girls." Dr. Carroll no doubt wrote encouraging the nuns to come, for he was most anxious to provide for the education of American Catholic girls. The Carisbrooke (England) Annals tells us that the Dominican

³⁷ WHITE, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

nuns of Brussels, after their flight to London in 1794, were visited by Father Edward Fenwick, the founder of the Order of St. Dominic in the United States and the first Bishop of Cincinnati, and with him the nuns discussed the advisability of going to America :

I went lately to see our sisters, the nuns of our Order who have also [*?* thought] of following me to America as they do not think they can prosper and increase in England. The Rev. Mother desires me to mention this to you and request your opinion and advice; meanwhile I desired them to recommend the case to Almighty God who will dispose of all in good time, and promised that I would, after being settled myself, look out and calculate for them and when I find a place will inform them. The novice there, Sr. Dominica about whom you have been consulted, requests you will again consult the General and give advice as Bishop Stapleton died before he decided the case. Moreover they were not in his jurisdiction but that of Bishop Sharrock of the western district. If the General and you should judge advisable for our Nuns to go to America which I sincerely wish, in case I can possibly provide for them, will you please to write to them, or to the Confessor Mr. Brittain on the subject.²⁸

Two other communities of nuns, distinctly American in origin and in scope, were founded during the last years of Archbishop Carroll's life: the Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross, established by Father Nerinckx in 1812, and the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, founded by Bishop David, the same year. These two Sisterhoods for a time confined their educational and welfare work to Kentucky.

The one name which stands out as preëminent in this band of women devoting themselves to the highest ideals of religion and of charity during Dr. Carroll's episcopate (1790-1815) is that of Elizabeth Ann Bayley Seton. Mother Seton is the typical American woman of her day—energetic, gentle, resourceful, unafraid of great undertakings, and profoundly religious. "She brought a new ideal into American life—the ideal of a band of women devoted to the care of their neighbours, through the same channels so well known in our own day: education of the children, asylums for the orphans, and hospitals for the

²⁸ GUILDAY, *op. cit.*, pp. 419-420.

sick." ²⁰ No Catholic woman of America has received the universal praise Mother Seton has been given during the century which has elapsed since her death; and her place in American Catholic history as one of the pillars of God's Church during Dr. Carroll's episcopate may yet be consecrated in a more solemn manner by the Holy See, if the process for her canonization reaches its legitimate fulfilment.

²⁰ McCANN, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 18. For a succinct account, cf. McCANN, *Religious Orders of Women of the United States* in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. vi (1921), pp. 316-331.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE RISE OF THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS FOR MEN IN THE UNITED STATES

Refugees from religious houses visited this country from Europe at various epochs of the later colonial period, and, especially during the worst years of the French Revolution. Their presence in the United States deserves only a passing mention; and a distinction must be kept between this "strolling clerical fraternity" that came here, with or without permission, and to whom Dr. Carroll sometimes gave faculties as, for example, Paul de St. Pierre, Whelan, Nugent, Reuter, Fromm, the two Heilbrons, Smyth, Roan, Ryan, the O'Briens, the Harolds and others, and those members of religious communities abroad who were sent here for the express purpose of founding houses of their respective Orders in the United States. The difficulties created by so many of the intruders in the reconstruction period of Carroll's prefecture-apostolic did not heighten the value of the religious Orders in the eyes of priests and people; and the founders of the religious communities of men found strong prejudices and little support when they first proposed to establish this important branch of Catholic life in the United States.

Four attempts of this nature were made:—the Augustinians under Dr. Carr, in Philadelphia; the Franciscans, under Dr. Egan, in the same city; the Trappists, under three separate leaders; and the Dominicans, under Father Edward Fenwick, O. P. Only the first and the last of these attempts met with success.

The story of these four efforts at religious life for men in the United States, with the exception of the rise of the first Dominican province, can not be adequately told, since the documents for the same are either lost completely or are unavailable. Father O'Daniel's recent study of Bishop Fenwick's life has brought to light an astonishing group of materials, all of

which are of value for the history of the institutional growth of the Church during Carroll's episcopate.¹ The Central Archives of the Franciscan Order, and the Franciscan Archives in Dublin have few letters about the province projected by Bishop Egan in Philadelphia.² The Trappists have found a chronicler of high ability in Dr. Lawrence Flick;³ but in the burning of St. Augustine's Church and Monastery by the anti-Catholic mobs of Philadelphia, in 1844, all the documents for the foundation of the Augustinian Order were destroyed.⁴ Meagre as all these sources are, the history of the rise of these religious communities is a valuable page in our early annals; and the story of these projects, shorn of all the legends which have gathered about them, deserves a place in Carroll's biography.

Bishop Carroll saw full well that in consequence of the wreck of the religious Orders in France, those among their members who retained the spirit of their institutions would look forward to the days when the houses that had been suppressed or destroyed, would be revived. The United States, he believed, would present a good opportunity for carrying out their desires of maintaining their communities intact until the restoration of order. But, unless they came with the necessary funds, Carroll was strongly of the opinion that it was far better for them to remain at home. Land was being offered to him in various parts of his diocese where religious communities could be established, providing their founders came with money to build. Moreover, he believed it was useless for communities to arrive here, with all their members ignorant of the English language, or knowing so little that they would not be acceptable to the people. Above all else, such men would require "to be educated in so liberal a manner as to be above the meanness and servility which, unfortunately, characterize too many of those who have been habituated to depend almost entirely on their talents for interesting or importuning the charity of others. Men of this

¹ *Life of the Right Reverend Edward Dominic Fenwick, O.P., Founder of the Dominicans in the United States: Pioneer Missionary of Kentucky, Apostle of Ohio, First Bishop of Cincinnati.* Washington, D. C., 1921.

² Cf. *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. ii, pp. 230-231.

³ *French Refugee Trappists in the United States, in the Records*, vol. i, pp. 86-116.

⁴ Letter to the author from Rev. Dr. Middleton, O.S.A., Villanova, Pa., September 9, 1921.

latter cast, or the institutions that are calculated to form them, are not fit for the present state of this country." ^a

Among the first to arrive with proper credentials was the Rev. Matthew Carr, O.S.A., from St. Augustine's Monastery, Dublin, who came to America with the hope of founding an Augustinian province in this country. Dr. Carr was a man of native refinement of taste, of superior scholarship, and of the worthiest aspirations which a priest could have, for the welfare and the advancement of our holy Religion. He had a marked versatility of gifts, was a theologian of no mean character, an erudite scholar and an accomplished musician. Coming into a community, composed largely of persons who were opposed both to his creed and country, he must have possessed a special magnetic power in person and address, to receive the recognition of men of all beliefs and prejudices. He succeeded in what he essayed and helped very materially to give a respectable and honored position to Catholicity in Philadelphia and to enlist the sympathies of the rich and the influential in behalf of his struggling countrymen and co-religionists. His personal priestly life was most estimable, and tradition tells us that it would have been very difficult to have found in Philadelphia a clergyman more beloved by his flock for his dignity and gifts, and more admired and respected by his separated brethren. In the eyes of all he was a model of courtesy and kindness. There was always sunshine in his heart, which, great, noble and generous, was filled to overflowing with love for his fellow-men. Because of his intellectual attainments and his fondness for study, Dr. Carr was thought by many to be aloof from the humble and the lowly. Nothing could do his character greater injustice; for he was the very impersonation of the old adage that courtesy costs nothing. While he esteemed, loved and laboured for his charge, he was most liberal to all—Protestants and Catholics—meeting all on the broad ground of American citizenship, widening each day the circle of his action until he had broken down

^a Carroll to Troy, Baltimore, May 25, 1796; printed in *MONAN, Spicileg. Ossor.*, vol. iii, p. 521. Cf. the attempt of the Premonstratensians of Bois-le-Duc to come to America (Abbot Beckers to Carroll, August 15, 1807, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-Ga).

unconsciously the barrier of prejudice and hate for his faith and his race.⁶

Dr. Carr was joined in the project of founding St. Augustine's Church by Rev. Michael Ennis, who was stationed at St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia, and Rev. John Rossiter, stationed near Wilmington, Del., where Dr. Carr at first thought of starting his community, who is said to have been an officer in Rochambeau's army, returned to Ireland after the victory of Yorktown and joined the Augustinians. Not long after Carroll's return, he came back to America. In 1796, however, the present plot of ground occupied by St. Augustine's Church, Philadelphia, was bought, and in September of that year, the cornerstone of the church was laid.⁷ Bishop Carroll was very much encouraged over the project of an American province of this great Order, although he would have preferred to see the Augustinians go out to Kentucky or Ohio where so many Catholics were falling away for want of the Sacraments. He writes to Archbishop Troy, on May 25, 1796:

Messrs. Carr and Rossiter are commissioned by their brethren in Ireland to endeavour to form an establishment for their Order in these States, in which endeavour they shall have every encouragement and aid in my power. I wished, indeed, that they would have directed their views for an establishment towards our great Western country, on and contiguous to the river Ohio, because if able and apostolical men could be obtained to enter on that field, it seems to me that it would become a most flourishing portion of the Church of Christ, and there the means of future subsistence may be secured now for a very trifling consideration. I have made known to them my opinion, leaving them, however, at full liberty to determine for themselves, and Philadelphia seems now to be the place of their choice—*quod felix faustumque sit*.⁸

On August 26, 1796, Bishop Carroll wrote to Father Carr congratulating him on the successful beginning of the new com-

⁶ McGowan, *Historical Sketch of St. Augustine's Church, Philadelphia*, pp. 19-20. Philadelphia, 1896. Archbishop Troy announced to Carroll on February 15, 1795, that Fathers Carr and Ennis were preparing to leave for the United States (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-M1-2).

⁷ Among the contributors to the fund for erecting St. Augustine's Church and Monastery were President George Washington, Governor Thomas McKean, Hon. Thomas FitzSimons, Commodore John Barry, Viscount de Noailles, the brother-in-law of Lafayette, Don José Viar, Spanish Consul at Philadelphia, and Stephen Girard. (Cf. McGowan, *op. cit.*, p. 24.)

⁸ Moran, *Spicileg. Ossor.*, vol. iii, p. 520-521.

munity, and appointing him vicar-general for the northern part of the diocese.⁹ When he was assured of sufficient support, Father Carr applied to Rome for the requisite canonical authority to establish the new monastery of his Order, and an indult to that effect was sent to Dr. Carroll, on May 27, 1797, stating that the same could be erected canonically with his permission. Owing, however, to the danger of a long delay in the correspondence, Propaganda presumed that Carroll's consent would be given and so had already granted the indult, and the same was confided to Dr. Carroll for transmission to Father Carr. This was immediately forwarded to Father Carr, and thus the little community at Fourth and Vine Streets became the Mother-house for the Province of Our Lady of Good Counsel (now known as the Province of St. Thomas of Villanova). In his letter of May 27, Cardinal Gerdil, the Prefect of Propaganda, expressed in the name of the Congregation the great consolation all in Rome felt at this signal mark of divine predilection for America. With Europe in disorder and with so many deplorable calamities destroying religion, the progress of the Faith in the United States stood out like a beacon light of hope to the harassed head of the Church.¹⁰

Dr. Carr's missionary labours until his death (1819), form an integral part of the history of the Church in the Diocese of Philadelphia, and as Vicar-General of the Diocese of Baltimore before Bishop Egan's consecration (1810), he was practically the head of the Church in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. His community began very humbly, but from the inception of monastic life at old St. Augustine's, the Order attracted to itself some of the most learned and capable men in the priesthood of that day. Among the best known members of the Augustinians during these early years were: Father George Staunton, O.S.A., who came to the United States about 1799, and remained until 1809 or 1810; Father Philip Stafford, O.S.A., who was assistant at St. Joseph's and St. Augustine's Churches from 1800 to 1817; Father Philip Lariscy, O.S.A., the first priest to preach in Irish in the United States, who assisted at St. Augustine's from 1818 to 1824; and Dr. Michael Hurley, O.S.A., (1778-1837), one of

⁹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9A-A6.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, *Letter-Books*, vol. ii, p. 119.

the most brilliant clergymen of the time.¹¹ Dr. Hurley is said to have been born in Philadelphia. He was sent by Dr. Carr to Viterbo, Italy, to complete his studies, and on his return, probably in 1803, he was appointed as assistant at St. Joseph's and St. Augustine's Churches. Few Catholic priests enjoyed a wider popularity with the people of Philadelphia. It is highly regrettable that all the documentary material for the history of these early years of the Augustinians was destroyed during the Native-American Riots of 1844. Only eighteen letters are extant in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives, and they are mostly of an administrative nature dealing with the Church in Philadelphia under Dr. Carr, as Vicar-General of Baltimore.

There were Franciscans of the three branches (Friars Minor, Conventuals and Capuchins) in this country from the time of Carroll's prefectship (1784), down to the coming of Father Michael Egan, O.F.M., about 1799. Many of these were unfitted for such a sacred undertaking as the foundation of a province of their Order, and it was not until after his appointment as pastor of St. Mary's, Philadelphia, in April, 1803, that Father Egan placed this cherished project before the Holy See. On December 11, 1803, he addressed the Vicar of Rome, Cardinal della Somaglia, whom Dr. Carroll and Father Egan believed to be Prefect of Propaganda, asking for the requisite authority to found a Franciscan province in the United States. Father Egan called the attention of the cardinal to the fact that previous to his coming to America, he had been Guardian of St. Isidore's in Rome, and had spent several years in Ireland before taking up missionary work in Pennsylvania. The letter then continues:

The congregation here is both numerous and respectable, but I'm sorry to say there are many places in this extensive country, where the faithful are destitute of pastors, and deprived of the bread of life. To remedy this evil in some manner, application is made to your Eminence (with the concurrence and approbation of the Right Rev. Dr. Carroll of Baltimore), and is, that you would be pleased to procure for me, from the Superior of the Order of Ara Coeli, power of receiving and professing novices, and of forming a Province distinct and independent of that of Ireland, subject, however, to be called out and serve when and where the Right

¹¹ WESTCOTT, *A Memoir of the Very Rev. Michael Hurley, D.D., O.S.A.*, in the *Records*, vol. i, pp. 165-212.

Rev. Doctor Carroll or his successors may think proper to send them. An institution of this kind has been formed here by a gentleman of the Order of St. Augustine; the effects whereof are already felt; and, as the Franciscan Order is more numerous, it is to be hoped the benefit resulting to religion will be more extensive.¹²

Father Egan then explained to Somaglia that, owing to the strictness of the Franciscan Rule, the Holy See would be obliged to grant a dispensation to the members of the Order in the United States to acquire and hold property. As pastors of churches, they were the legal heads of the corporation made up of the church trustees, and they would be forced to hold church property legally to protect it from alienation or mismanagement. After several months, not hearing from Rome, though we know that Cardinal Somaglia, who was Vicar of Rome, handed the letter to Propaganda, Father Egan sent a duplicate of the letter to Propaganda, on March 4, 1804. Bishop Carroll heartily concurred in the petition for the Franciscan province, and addressed Cardinal Somaglia on December 11, 1803, to that effect:

The Rev. Mr. Egan, having communicated his letter to your Eminence, and desired me to certify that its contents are agreeable to me, I take the liberty of adding that they have my entire approbation, and that I shall esteem it as a singular favour of Divine Providence to see, before the close of my life, the measure, which he proposes, carried into effect, because it would afford to me a reasonable hope, that there [would be] a provision made for supplying a portion of this extensive diocese—with worthy and edifying priests, to perform the services of our holy Religion. As I believe that your Eminence is a member of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, I request most humbly the favour of having an answer sent to the many urgent letters, which have been sent to me during the past years; and am with the greatest respect and veneration, etc.¹³

This petition was answered on June 24, 1804, and Father Egan was told that the Sacred Congregation would take the matter up with the superiors of the Franciscans in Rome; if it met with their approval, the project would be placed before the Holy Father, Pius VII. On June 30, 1804, Propaganda communicated by letter with the Commissary General of the Order,

¹² HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 969.

¹³ *Ibid.*, l. c., p. 970. (*Propaganda Archives, Letters*, vol. 287, ff. 312-314.)

then in residence at the Ara Coeli, giving him at the same time copies of Egan's and Carroll's letters. The Secretary of Propaganda finished his letter with the statement that the erection of a Franciscan province was considered by the cardinals of the Congregation of such great importance that he trusted the general would give it his most earnest and immediate consideration. Permission from the head of the Franciscan Order was readily granted, and in a special audience before Pius VII on September 23, 1804, the Congregation requested papal approbation for Egan's design. There was no objection on the part of His Holiness, and on September 29, a decree to that effect was drawn up by the Propaganda officials and was despatched to Dr. Carroll, with a letter stating that Father Egan might proceed at once to erect a Franciscan province in this country, distinct and independent of the Irish Province ("a provincia Fratrum Minorum Hiberniae penitus distinctam atque independentem"). The strict rule of poverty of the Friars Minor made it necessary to issue an exemption to the members of the American province, but they were forbidden by the general of the Order to hold property in their own name; they were to have all property belonging to the Order vested in the name of Bishop Carroll or of some one not a member of the Franciscans.¹⁴

On the receipt of these documents, Father Egan wrote to Bishop Carroll (January 8, 1805), thanking him for his assistance and for his just and prudent observations relative to the establishment of the Province. It would seem as if Dr. Carroll had suggested to Father Egan, as he had also done to Father Carr, the superior of the Augustinians, the great good he might do if he established his Order in the Kentucky-Ohio regions where priests were so badly needed. A Mr. Gallagher from Kentucky was in Philadelphia in 1805, and there was talk of transferring the church property at Frankfort, Ky., to Father Egan, who makes mention of the offer in his letter of January 8, 1805 to Dr. Carroll.¹⁵ The offer was not accepted; no doubt, for the reason that Bishop Carroll had already obtained the consent of the Dominicans to go out to the Kentucky Missions.

¹⁴ *Propaganda Archives, Scrittura riferita, America Centrale*, vol. iii, ff. 220-221; printed in HUGHES, *l.c.*, p. 971. (Cf. *Records*, vol. xxi, p. 171.)

¹⁵ SPALDING, *Flaget*, p. 108.

Father Egan found a patron in the wealthy Catholic landowner of Pennsylvania, Mr. Joseph Cauffmann, who conveyed (August 9, 1806) to his son-in-law, Mark Willcox, and Father Carr, O.S.A., some three hundred acres of land in Indiana County, Penna., which was to be used for establishing a Franciscan monastery. In case the Order failed to accept the gift, it was to be turned over to the bishop of the diocese for church purposes.¹⁶ On September 5, 1810, Mr. Willcox and Father Carr conveyed the land to Bishop-elect Egan. The disturbed condition of the Church in Philadelphia during Dr. Egan's episcopate (1810-1814), due to the Harolds and to the trustee schism, gave the bishop no opportunity of carrying out his plans for the establishment of the American province of the Order, and after his death (July 22, 1814), his heir, Father Michael Du Burgo Egan conveyed the land (August 23, 1823) to Bishop Conwell.¹⁷

The Franciscans had a long history of activity within the present borders of the United States when their project of establishing a distinctly American province of the Order was abandoned by Bishop Egan. They had been the first to begin permanent missions in this country, and the list of missionaries, confessors of the Faith, and martyrs whose names are recorded in the Book of Deeds of the American Church, begins with that of Father Juan Suárez, O.F.M., who came to Florida with Narváez in 1528, and continues down to Egan's own day, when Fathers Junipero Serra, de Lasuén, and Tapis were founding those glorious relics of a vanished civilization—the Missions of California (1769-1823).¹⁸ In 1672, members of the English Franciscan province were at work in the Maryland Missions, and here and there throughout the country down to Egan's death, were to be found Franciscans of merit—pioneers such as Father Theodore Brouwers, O.F.M., who owned a large estate in Indiana County, Pa., and Father Van Huffel, O.F.M., who came to the United States in 1789, took part in the Synod of 1791, and

¹⁶ GRIFFIN, *Life of Bishop Egan*, p. 13; cf. *A Projected Franciscan Convent in Western Pennsylvania (1804-1810)*, in the *Records*, vol. xxi, pp. 170-176.

¹⁷ "I have not traced the conveyance farther. Is any part of the land now used for religious purposes?"—GRIFFIN, *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁸ ENGELHARDT, *The Missions and Missionaries of California*, 4 vols. San Francisco, 1911-1915.

returned to Europe in 1805.¹⁰ But the failure of Bishop Egan's plan seems to have brought an end to the project of a Franciscan province. It was only after immigration from Germany and Austria to the United States had reached its highest point that the Franciscans were enabled to carry Bishop Egan's plan to completion.

The history of the Trappists in the United States begins with the exodus of the monks and novices from La Trappe, France, at the outbreak of the French Revolution, when Dom Augustin de Lestrange, the master of novices, sought a refuge in Switzerland with his community. Later, owing to the difficulty of finding a permanent home there, they wandered over different parts of Europe, and in 1802, Lestrange decided to send a group of Trappists to America. Under Dom Urbain Guillet, twenty-four members of the Order arrived at Baltimore, on Sept. 25, 1802. On July 10, 1804, Propaganda wrote to the Superior of the Trappists at Cività Castellana promising him that the Sacred Congregation would warmly recommend Dom Urbain and his companions to Bishop Carroll. There is a letter to this effect addressed to Carroll in the Propaganda Archives, dated July 14, 1804. They attempted a foundation at Pigeon Hill, but this was deserted in 1805, for Kentucky, where Father Badin gave them a hearty welcome. Meanwhile, Dom Augustin had sent out to the United States a second group under Dom Mary Joseph. The two bands of Trappists united, but in 1809 their monastery at Pottinger's Creek, Ky., was destroyed by fire, and they went to Florissant, Mo., where the community was re-established. The manner of religious life embraced in the severe rule of La Trappe was wholly unsuited to the rough pioneer conditions in Kentucky, and many cases of serious and fatal illness occurred by reason of their adherence to certain foods little calculated to give them the strength necessary for the hard life around them.

Their short stay in Kentucky was not devoid of benefit to that struggling portion of the American Church, for the school they

¹⁰ Thorpe writes to Carroll (April 7, 1789) that Van Huffel, who was then setting out for America, "seems to have nothing of what is meant here [Rome] by the name of *Frate*" (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-J6). His departure is recorded in a letter from Carroll to Troy, November 9, 1805 (*ibid.*, Case 8-P7).

established was the beginning of Catholic education among the pioneer families of the then Far West, and the rigorous religious life they led had its corresponding influence upon the people. Spalding writes:

While in Kentucky, the Trappists relaxed in nothing the rigor of their institute. They observed a perpetual silence. They slept on boards, with nothing but a blanket for their covering, and a coarse canvas bag, stuffed with straw for their pillow. They gave but four hours in the twenty-four to repose—from eight o'clock p. m., until twelve. . . . They never ate meat, butter, eggs, nor fish; their food consisted of the coarsest bread, and of vegetables plainly dressed. On Good Friday, they took nothing but bread and water. Their life was thus a continual penance and prayer. But, in the climate of Kentucky, these rigid austerities were not compatible with health. The constitutions of many of the monks were greatly impaired; and five priests and three lay-brothers fell victims to disease. . . . these afflictions and the ardent desire which Father Urbain had conceived of labouring for the conversion and civilization of the Indian tribes, together with the aspiration after still greater solitude, determined him to emigrate with his Order still farther Westward.²⁰

And thus began the strangest and saddest odyssey in American annals. The monks built a flat-boat and with it set out on the Ohio, in the Spring of 1809, towards the Mississippi. On reaching the mouth of the Ohio, they camped for several months, in order to build a boat for the rest of the journey. At length they reached St. Louis, and fixed upon a site near Florissant, now called Monk's Mound, where they set up their establishment and renewed their strict religious life. Here again they met with almost insuperable difficulties, and, in 1812, the call came from the general of the Order for them to return to France. Father Urbain sold the property at Monk's Mound and returned to Maryland with his community. There he found that a third group had been sent out by Dom Augustin from Bordeaux, and had reached Boston on August 6, 1812, under the direction of Dom Vincent de Paul. This group consisted of three Fathers of the Order, one nun (Trappistine) and two lay brothers.²¹ Father Vincent's intention was to bring out five Sisters with

²⁰ SPALDING, *Sketches*, pp. 168-169.

²¹ Cf. *Memoirs of Father Vincent De Paul*, translated from the French by Pope (Charlottetown, P.E.I., 1886), printed (in part) in the *Researches*, vol. xxii, pp. 260-267; cf. *ibid.*, vol. x, pp. 170-173.

which to found a Cistercian convent in this country, but the French Government would permit only one nun to go. In August, 1813, he visited Bishop Egan at Philadelphia, and then went to Pike County to examine some land near Milford, Pa., which had been offered to his community. Not finding the place suitable, he returned to Philadelphia in October, 1813. In the meantime, Dom Augustin himself took refuge in the United States,²² but, after Napoleon's abdication, he resolved to take his monks back to France and reestablish his community at La Trappe. Two groups of the monks left New York in 1814-15, one under Dom Augustin's care, the other under that of Dom Urbain. A third group started under Father Vincent de Paul, but the ship was detained at Halifax. Whether by accident or design, Father Vincent was left on shore when the boat sailed, and he devoted the rest of his life to missionary work in the Diocese of Halifax. Father Marie Joseph Dunand remained in the West and was given charge of the parish of St. Charles, Mo., and several of the lay-brothers remained in Kentucky.²³

The correspondence between the leaders of these groups of Trappists and Archbishop Carroll is one of the most numerous in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives; and the references to their life and missionary activities in the letters of Fathers Badin and Nerinckx are so many as to give the impression that in Kentucky in those days little else was discussed.²⁴ Fathers Nerinckx and Badin, the pioneers of the Church in those regions, while in generous sympathy with the ideas of La Trappe, realized that the monks would be of small service in the vineyard.²⁵ The

²² Dom Augustin to Carroll, Dunkirk, March 21, 1803, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8B-M5; same to same, Bordeaux, June 6, 1811, *ibid.*, M6.

²³ Father Vincent De Paul founded (1825) the monastery of Petit Clairvaux which, up to 1916, flourished at Tracadie, in the Diocese of Antigonish, N.S. (Cf. GAILLARDIN, *Historie de la Trappe*. Grande Trappe, 1898; O'BRIEN, *Memoirs of Bishop Burke of Halifax*. Ottawa, 1894.) The *Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec* contain numerous letters on the Trappist projects, eighteen being from the pen of Father Urbain to Bishop Plessis. For Father Marie Joseph Dunand, cf. FLICK, *Diary of Father M. J. D.*, in the *Records*, vol. xxvi, pp. 328a.

²⁴ MAES, *Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx*, pp. 108-112. Cincinnati, 1880. These letters are in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Cases 1, 8, 9 and in the 2nd vol. of the *Letter-books*.

²⁵ On February 9, 1807, Father Badin wrote to Bishop Carroll that Father Urbain had sent fourteen of the monks in the severest weather of that winter to the plantations he had bought on Green River. They went by wagon and had to cut a road through the forests and the snow-drifts. "The good Father seems to ask for miracles," he added, (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 1-H6.) Badin himself had seriously

American Church was not prepared to receive religious who followed the rule of contemplation. Thirty years later, when Catholic life was better organized, the Trappists of Melleray, France, sent out (1848) a group of monks and lay-brothers who established the monastery at Gethsemani, Kentucky.

The history of the first American province of the Order of Friars Preacher is so intimately connected with the Diocese of Bardstown that here only the beginnings of the province need to be detailed. The founder of the Dominican Province of St. Joseph, Bishop Edward Dominic Fenwick, O.P., was born at the homestead of the family, in St. Mary's County, Md., on August 19, 1768. He was the fourth of the family of eight children: six boys and two girls. As the son of prominent Catholic parents, he was probably educated at home under private tutors, as was the custom with the Catholic families at that time; at an early age, he was entered at Holy Cross College, in Bornheim, Belgium, an Academy for the education of boys founded by Cardinal Thomas Howard, O.P. (c. 1758). Edward Fenwick was in his twentieth year when he finished his studies at Bornheim, and on September 4, 1788, he entered the Order of St. Dominic, the second American of whom there is any record to become a Dominican.²⁶ To his baptismal name of Edward, he added that of Dominic in honour of the sainted founder of the Order. After his profession (March 26, 1790), he began his studies for the priesthood, and was ordained in 1793. The approach of the French army at this period of the Revolution caused the superiors at Bornheim to place the college property in his hands, hoping that his American citizenship would save the institution. This fact was not, however, respected, for he was arrested and the property was confiscated, even though it had previously (1793) been protected by General Eustace, an American, who led the French troops. Father Fenwick was eventually released and went to England, where the English

considered joining the Trappists at this time (letter of February 17, 1807, to Carroll, *ibid.*, Case 1-H7), and he feared that Nerinckx might be tempted to join the monks. "Raro sanctificantur qui peregrinantur," Badin sarcastically remarks two years later when the monks were setting out for Missouri. Father Urbain's letters to Carroll (*ibid.*, Case 8-Q1-10) are filled with alternate hope and despair at each stage of the wanderings of his community.

²⁶ O'DANIEL, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

Dominicans had established a house at Carshalton, in Surrey, some twelve miles from London. Their prospects were not very encouraging. O'Daniel writes:

Fenwick himself was nearing middle age. Accordingly, he felt that the time was come when he could and should take steps towards putting his pious project into execution. In fact, although we have found no express assertion of his to that effect, the good priest seems to have regarded such a thing as so sacred a duty, that one is inclined to believe that he had taken a vow, if the permission were granted him, to establish his Order in the United States. . . . The prospects of success for the undertaking were the more propitious because the property left the humble friar by his father was situated in Maryland, and he had been able to obtain but little proceeds from it during his residence abroad. This could now be used in aid of the establishment Father Fenwick had so much at heart. Another circumstance in the good priest's favour was the presence in Rome of a learned Irish Dominican, who had long taken a keen interest in the missions of the United States, Father Richard Luke Concanen, then assistant to the Superior-General of the Order, and later the first Bishop of New York.²⁷

Father Fenwick secured the permission of the English Provincial, to begin negotiations with Dr. Concanen and Bishop Carroll. It was Dr. Concanen who urged Fenwick to establish a distinct and independent province of the Order, rather than a succursal house or friary dependent upon Carshalton. Father O'Daniel has printed the correspondence which ensued between Fenwick and Concanen, and there are stirring pages in his *Life of Bishop Fenwick*, describing the American's difficulties in persuading the English Provincial to allow Father Wilson to join him in the project. When the Master-General, Very Rev. Joseph Gaddi, authorized the undertaking, Fenwick wrote to Bishop Carroll, on January 12, 1804, that preparations were then being made for the proximate departure of the Dominicans for Maryland. Another letter to Bishop Carroll, dated Carshalton, May 5, 1804, states that he was awaiting "an obedience or formal order from the General's own hand," so that there would be no recriminations after he and the other Dominicans had departed.²⁸

In September, 1804, Fenwick and Father Angier, his colleague at Bornheim, set out from London, and after a tedious journey of

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

almost three months, reached Norfolk, Virginia, towards the end of November, 1804. On November 29, 1804, Fenwick wrote to Bishop Carroll, announcing the arrival of his companion and himself. Dr. Carroll replied on December 5, welcoming the two Friars, and offered them the Kentucky missions as a field for their activity. Bishop Carroll had very likely spoken to Fenwick's relations about his desire to see the new community established in Kentucky; but, in his answer of December 15, 1804, Father Fenwick emphasized the fact that the true object of his presence in Maryland was to establish a convent of his Order there. He believed at first that Carroll's plan would nullify this permission. His design "had always been to found his Order in his native Maryland, which he loved with the affection akin to that of a son for a mother. Keen, therefore, was his disappointment on learning that Bishop Carroll desired that Kentucky should be the first sphere of apostolic labour for the Friars Preacher. But he was too zealous a priest to hesitate to go wherever his services were most needed, as well as a religious too thoroughly trained in obedience not to submit readily to the voice of authority."²⁹ The nearness of the two Catholic colleges at Georgetown and Baltimore rendered the success of a third institution precarious.

When the winter of 1804-5 was over, Father Fenwick decided to go out to Kentucky to view the prospects there. He was accompanied by his brother-in-law, Nicholas Young. Father Stephen Badin welcomed the zealous priest and it was settled between them that he should return to Baltimore and accept Dr. Carroll's offer. Father Badin wrote to Dr. Carroll on May 15, 1805, that he would willingly coöperate in the establishment of the Dominican monastery and College which Father Fenwick had in view. Badin asked that Dr. Carroll allow him the liberty of transferring the ecclesiastical property vested in his name, as well as two hundred and twenty acres of land belonging to himself, to the new community. "As Mr. Fenwick and his brethren," he writes, "will assume the obligation of fulfilling the duties of the mission as well as myself . . . I do humbly request and confidently hope that you will give me leave to be

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

associated to St. Dominic's family. I conceived this wish as well as the other resolution within two days after Mr. Fenwick's arrival, and have never varied." ³⁰ Father Fenwick returned to Maryland with this letter; after his arrival, he wrote to Dr. Concanen an account of all that had taken place, adding that Bishop Carroll "applauds and consents to it." The church lands, it is true, which Badin wished to transfer to the Dominicans, were of minor value at that time, and the log presbyteries which had been built on them were of the type common to frontier towns.

Shortly afterwards there arrived as Father Badin's co-worker in the fields of Kentucky the great Belgian missionary, Father Charles Nerinckx (July 18, 1805). The presence of this valiant soldier of the Cross gave such hearty encouragement to Father Badin that his desire to become a Dominican disappeared for a time, and he wrote to Dr. Carroll (October 5, 1805) repudiating his offer. This letter is the first in a long series which deal with one of the most unfortunate episodes in Catholic American annals, and it is difficult, with all possible desire for impartiality, not to see in Badin's sudden change of policy the influence of his *confrère*, Charles Nerinckx. "Since I have made my proposals to Mr. Fenwick," Badin wrote on October 5, 1805, "I have evidently seen that not only it would not be advantageous, but it might prove very detrimental to religion to surrender the whole ecclesiastical property to one Order, exclusively, which in time will probably claim besides, privileges and exemptions from the jurisdiction and control of the Ordinary." ³¹ There is little doubt that the Kentucky missions were a grave problem to Dr. Carroll. After receiving Badin's letter of May 15, 1805, offering all ecclesiastical properties and himself to the Dominicans, Bishop Carroll wrote to Badin concurring in the project of the property transfer. What occurred between May and October can easily be conjectured, and it is hard to acquit the two Kentucky missionaries of bad faith, when we find Badin writing to the effect that: "I really thought that Mr. F [enwick] at the very time I was writing my proposals was, with modesty, however, showing a grasping disposition: for he was not satisfied with one only

³⁰ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 1-G9; printed in O'DANIEL, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Case 1-G10; printed in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. vi, pp. 68-71.

of the church livings; but as two days before I had show'd a cheerful disposition to part with everything to establish the Order, he insisted on possessing everything: knowing and expressly mentioning that such a disposition should be submitted to your corrective, I acquiesced although but little edified." Father Badin's "change of mind" precipitated a situation which was to last all through Carroll's episcopate and to inaugurate a series of letters from the two Kentucky priests—Badin and Nerinckx—which had much better never have been written. The virulent denunciations sent to Bishop Carroll against the Dominicans have left an unpleasant echo in Kentucky annals. Father O'Daniel has given us a detailed history of this unpleasantness. He says that it deserves no more than a casual reference in the life of the founder of the Order in this country, Father Fenwick; but, unfortunately, the biographers of Father Nerinckx have not been careful in their use of the documentary material at their disposal. One of them, at least, has suffered somewhat from what historians call "Froude's disease." The result has been that a one-sided presentation of the episode has passed into Catholic American annals and has been given a place of acceptance in the pages of John Gilmary Shea. The most charitable explanation of this depressing event in the history of the American Church is that given by Father O'Daniel: "Father Badin was a Frenchman; Father Nerinckx a Belgian. Three of the Dominicans were British. The other was an American; but he was of English origin, and had spent the greater part of his life abroad with Englishmen. Nearly all the people of Kentucky were Americans, but of English descent."²² If one adds to this the fact that the two pioneer missionaries of Kentucky—Badin and Nerinckx—had been trained in a more rigid school of theology, which savoured greatly of the Jansenistic spirit then prevalent in French and Belgian ecclesiastical circles, we shall be able better to approach the problem of interpreting these years of conflict between the two seculars and the Dominicans. The American Church has been free to a great extent from these theological discussions of laxism and rigorism, and it is well for the history of our Church that the leader of the

²² *A Long Misunderstood Episode in American History*, by O'DANIEL, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. vi, p. 22.

Dominicans during this controversy, Father Wilson, was a man of wide learning, affable, and retiring. Spalding calls him one of the most learned divines who ever emigrated to America. Throughout the whole *affaire* the Dominicans wrote but seldom, and then only to defend their good name against charges that would arouse the spirit of any good priest. Fenwick refers to the matter only once in his correspondence with Dr. Concanen, and then it is to say a charitable word about both his enemies.

Meanwhile, the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide had issued (March 11, 1805) the formal decree authorizing the founding of the American province of the Dominican Order. On June 22, 1805, the Master-General, Father Gaddi, appointed Father Fenwick Provincial. These two documents were sent to Bishop Carroll, who received them early in October, and then forwarded them to Fenwick, at Piscataway, Md. Fathers Wilson and Tuite, two other Bornheim Dominicans who had arrived in Maryland, were immediately ordered by the Provincial to proceed to Kentucky. Family affairs detained Father Fenwick until the following year, and it was not until July, 1806, that he joined his brethren. "Here he found that the former generous dispositions of Father Badin had been supplanted by an attitude void of all sympathy, if not positively unfriendly. The plan of conveying the various parcels of church land to the Friars had been cancelled . . . It was fortunate, therefore, that Bishop Carroll had given Father Fenwick, before he quitted Maryland, the option of locating his convent and college in whatever part of Kentucky he should judge best suited to his purpose."²⁸

With his own patrimony, Father Fenwick purchased a farm of five hundred acres and a brick house, about two miles from Springfield, and there St. Rose's Priory was established before the close of the year. The next project was to found a college for the instruction of boys. Bishop Carroll had given Father Fenwick an open letter of recommendation to the Catholics of Kentucky before his departure, and this letter was now printed as a broadside and an appeal made for funds:

The Rev. Mr. Edward D. Fenwick and other Rev. Clergymen connected with him, having proposed for themselves the establishment of

²⁸ O'DANIEL, *Fenwick*, pp. 106-107.

a College or Academy in Kentucky, for the education of youth, I not only approve of, but greatly rejoice at their having formed such a resolution, which, if carried into effect, cannot fail of producing the most beneficial effects for improving the minds and morals of the rising generation, and fortifying their religious principles. Believing that God in his beneficence inspired this design into their minds, I take the liberty of recommending to, and exhorting all my dear brethren and children in Christ to grant to it every encouragement they are able, and thus co-operate to the success of a work undertaken for the glory of God and their own advantage.

✠ JOHN, *Bishop of Baltimore.*²⁴

In those days money was scarce in Kentucky, all debts being paid in barter. Business and trade were carried on in this fashion. In May, 1807, a small college was opened with twelve boys, who paid one hundred dollars per annum, and with ten poor boys gratis. Six of these became postulants in the Order and some were soon capable of taking a place in the teaching staff of the college, to which was given the name of St. Thomas Aquinas. In October, 1807, Father Wilson became provincial and Father Fenwick was left free to tour the country on horseback, visiting the Catholics of that section and ministering to them. St. Rose's Church, the mother-house of the Dominican Order in this country, was completed in 1809, and in 1812, the College of St. Thomas Aquinas, through a legacy of two thousand dollars left by Bishop Concanen, was finally finished. The Dominicans ministered to a Catholic population of about twenty thousand souls. Father Fenwick's many journeys through Ohio had made him familiar with that territory, and it was but logical when the Diocese of Cincinnati was erected (1821), that he should be chosen its first bishop. After Father Wilson's death (1824), Bishop Fenwick again became Provincial of the Dominican Province of St. Joseph, and held this post until his death (September 26, 1832).

The Church in the United States, during Carroll's episcopate, did not reach a stage of progress which warranted the successful founding of religious houses, especially for men. Many years were to pass before this essential factor in Catholic spirituality would be able to survive the harsh conditions of American life

²⁴ Cited by O'DANIEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-111.

in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The communities which were able to continue—the Augustinians and the Dominicans—waited several decades before they ventured to multiply their activities; and, indeed, it was well on towards the middle of the last century that their real development began.

CHAPTER XXVIII
THE RESTORATION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN THE
UNITED STATES

(1806-1815)

From August 16, 1773, until August 7, 1814, the Society of Jesus was outlawed by the Church of God. The execution of the fatal order of Clement XIV was left to the individual bishops throughout the world. With the exception of Prussia and Russia, where the sovereigns refused to destroy the Society, confiscation and suppression were carried out to the letter. The English ex-Jesuits had obtained in 1778, papal sanction by the Brief *Catholici Praesules* for their Academy at Liège, where they remained until 1794, when the masters and scholars migrated to Stonyhurst.¹ The Liège School was the last oasis in an educational desert created by Bourbon hatred and papal acquiescence. Its continuance under ex-Jesuit control is one of the remarkable pages in Jesuit history. Most of the American clergy—all Jesuits in 1773—had, like Bishop Carroll, passed through Liège to their ordination and final profession. The same enmity which left no stone unturned to suppress the remnant of the Society in White Russia, was in evidence as the English Academy at Liège progressed. It is not difficult to surmise what would have been the ultimate condition of the Society today, had not the Suppression reacted upon the very courts that had so insolently demanded it from the Holy See.

The Interim (1773-1814) is synchronous with the collapse of Bourbonism in Europe. Throughout the world, during these forty years of Suppression, the members of the Society looked to the White Russian Province as a link with their great past, in case the future should warrant the restoration of the Society; and foremost among those of the Society who were determined

¹ HUGHES, *History of the Society of Jesus, etc.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 683, note 33.

to profit by every advantage were the English ex-Jesuits. After their migration to Stonyhurst, the Abbé de Broglie, representing the Paccanarists, came to London, in 1797, for the purpose of urging the English ex-Jesuits to join the new union. Among those who became members of this group was Father Charles Forrester, who had been present at Carroll's consecration.³ The movement met a strong opponent in Carroll's life-long friend, Father Charles Plowden, who preached his consecration sermon. "There was much to recommend a junction between the ex-Jesuits and the new society," writes Ward, "their anomalous position would have come to an end, and they would have found themselves members of an Order of similar aims and rules resembling those to which they had been so long voluntarily adhering."⁴ The English ex-Jesuits wisely refrained from taking part in Abbé de Broglie's project, for in 1801, Pius VII formally approved by the Brief *Catholicae Fidei* the existence of the Society of Jesus in Russia. On May 27, 1803, the English ex-Jesuits succeeded in obtaining oral permission from the same pontiff for the aggregation to the Russian Province.⁴ Father Gruber, the General, appointed Father Marmaduke Stone, then President of Stonyhurst College, superior of the affiliated English Jesuits. All that was asked of the former members of the Society was to perform a spiritual retreat and to renew their vows. Father Stone's authority was indeed based upon the celebrated *vivae vocis oraculum*, understood to have been granted by Pius VII to Father Gruber's agent in Rome, Father Angelioni. Bishop Milner tells us in a letter to Archbishop Troy (February 27, 1805) that "my friend, Charles Plowden, stood out for a time, saying that without a public instrument under the Pope's hand, it might be disavowed and overturned in a moment. At length, however, he complied and accordingly pronounced his vows on August 15, 1804."⁵ A regular novitiate was opened at Hodder, near Stonyhurst, in a house given to the Society by Mr. Weldon, and Father Charles Plowden

³ Forrester to Carroll, Lulworth, May 6, 1803 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-08).

⁴ WARD, *Evolution of Catholic Emancipation*, vol. i, pp. 208-209. London, 1911.

⁵ Plowden to Carroll, London, July 19, 1803. Such an application had been made and the English ex-Jesuits expected permission to proceed as they desired in the matter (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*. Case 6-Q3).

⁶ Cited by Ward, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 210. (From the *Archiepiscopal Archives* of Dublin.)

became first master of novices. Henceforth they were able to live as Jesuits, although the permission granted by Pius VII was of a private nature and was to be kept secret. Even Cardinal Borgia, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, which was the administrative court for England and America, was not told of this partial restoration.

It was impossible, however, to keep the matter a secret, and Cardinal Borgia wrote rather vehemently to Bishop Douglass, Vicar-Apostolic of the London District, on December 3, 1803, protesting against any recognition of the Jesuits in England. He requested him to notify confidentially the other vicars-apostolic that the Society existed only within the confines of Russia, and then only because the Holy See was powerless before the Empress Catherine, who protected the Jesuits. On March 17, 1804, the Cardinal-Prefect wrote in the same vein to Bishop Milner. Cardinal Borgia acknowledged that he had become aware of the general opinion that Pius VII had restored the Society and that houses might be begun wherever a sufficient group of Jesuits might be gathered. He called Bishop Milner's attention to the fact that the permission granted by the Holy See on March 7, 1801, was "*intra Russiaci Imperii fines dumtaxat et non extra.*" Wherefore, the General of the Society had no right to revive the Society outside the Russian frontiers and likewise had no right to aggregate those living in other countries to the remnant existing in Russia. The Cardinal-Prefect then added in no unmistakable terms that the *vivae vocis oraculum* was false. Bishop Milner was warned not to allow the ex-Jesuits of England to affiliate themselves to Russia, but to consider them as secular diocesan priests.⁶ Later in 1804, Bishop Gibson had written to Father Stone, giving him the message contained in Borgia's letter, but the English Provincial was too well acquainted with the actual position of the Society in the eyes of the Holy See to be misled by Borgia, who was an acknowledged opponent of the Society. Father Stone stood firmly upon the permission granted in the *vivae vocis oraculum*, "for he had received repeated assurances from the Father-General that the Holy Father had approved all that the English Jesuits had so far done, and he was aware that

⁶ From the *Birmingham Diocesan Archives*. The original Latin letter will be found in WARD, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 287-288.

the Holy Father might have reasons for not communicating his will even to Propaganda."⁷

In spite, therefore, of Cardinal Borgia's hostility, the English Jesuits continued with their work at Stonyhurst and at Hodder. There were continual difficulties for the next twenty-five years, not the least of which was the fact that the presence of the Society in England was made an obstacle to Catholic Emancipation by the antagonists of that measure.

The English Jesuits did not receive the full benefit of the Bull of Restoration of 1814 until January 1, 1829, when Leo XII declared it to have force in England. The Catholic Emancipation Bill, which received the royal assent on April 13, 1829, contained a penal clause against the existence of the Jesuits in England, but it was never enforced. "The sons of the Society in England," writes Father Pollen, "probably suffered less under the Suppression than did the Jesuits of any other country in Europe. In England, the Society had always been remarkably popular, and the proportion of the Jesuits in the total number of the clergy had always been unusually high."⁸ There were strong adhesive forces active among the Fathers in England as well as in the United States during the Interim, and the English Jesuits were the first, the American Jesuits the second, to request aggregation with Russia. Both branches of the Society were to be allowed to reorganize on the old lines.

The history of the English Jesuits during this period (1773-1814) is an important background for the study of the Restoration of the Society in the United States. Every aspect of the Interim in England had its direct reaction upon the ex-Jesuits in America. Father John Carroll was one of the very few English-speaking Jesuits who were at Rome during the period immediately preceding the Suppression. When, on January 23, 1772, he wrote from Rome to Father Ellerker, S. J., one of the English professors at Liège, that "our catastrophe is near at hand, if we must trust to present appearances and the talk of Rome," he knew that the Society was doomed; and his letters of this period show how poignant was his grief at being obliged to hide his identity in Rome, even when travelling with so prominent a person

⁷ POLLEN, *An Unobserved Centenary*, in the *Month*, May, 1910, p. 361.

⁸ POLLEN, *l.c.*, p. 362.

as Lord Stourton's son. John Carroll never forgot those days of anguish at the centre of Christendom, and that fact must be remembered when in later years, as Bishop of Baltimore, he apparently showed reluctance at the prospect of restoring the Society.

When Bishop Challoner (October 6, 1773) forwarded to America the Brief of Suppression, the Jesuits here submissively signed and returned the document which destroyed not only their solidarity but also placed the ban of the Church upon that sublime religious ideal for which they had sacrificed their home ties and their fortunes and by which they had regulated their lives from youth to manhood and, in most cases, to old age. There was no vicar-apostolic around whom they could rally for safety, as their brethren in England were able to do; and only upon the uncertain authority which remained to their veteran leader, John Lewis, could they base their future activities; but the thought and the spirit which dominated these men, from 1773 onwards, was the restoration of the Society, at least in their own land of America. In spite of the Revolutionary War (1775-1783), they managed to keep in touch with the former English Jesuits, and every step made towards the reorganization of the Society in England had its corresponding effect upon the hopes of the Americans.

The decree of Suppression allowed the ex-Jesuits who submitted, the privilege of remaining in the parishes where they were, but under the jurisdiction of the local bishops. This no doubt amused the despoiled Americans, for there were no resident priests in the country, except ex-Jesuits, and no bishops nearer than London, Quebec, or Santiago de Cuba.⁹ That they felt the injustice of the "Ganganelli Brief" keenly is only too patent to him who reads the correspondence of the years 1773-1806. The disturbed condition of the American colonies during the War for American Independence afforded little chance for meetings of any sort, and the main endeavour of the American ex-Jesuits was to establish regulations for the perpetuation of the labourers

⁹ "Ma che cosa si farà con quelli che vivono nell'America, per così dire, in un altro mondo senza aver tra loro nè Vescovo, nemmeno un Prete, che sia di un ordine diverso del loro"—Challoner to Stonor, London, September 14, 1773, quoted by HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 604. Cf. CAMPBELL, *The Jesuits*, p. 601. New York, 1921.

in the vineyard here. Occasionally rumours reached them from England that Propaganda was busy planning the confiscation of all the old Jesuit estates, and Carroll's attitude to which reference has already been made, must have put spirit into his English brethren when his letter of September 26, 1783, was read by Plowden to the members of the Society in England. Carroll's utterance on this occasion is the keynote to his whole life as priest, prefect-apostolic, bishop and archbishop, for he formally declared that "foreign temporal jurisdiction will never be tolerated here" in America.

The earliest voiced declaration that the American Fathers wanted the Society restored in the United States is to be found in the resolution of the First General Chapter of the Clergy at Whitemarsh, under date of November 6, 1783:

The Chapter declare for themselves, and as far as they can for their constituents, that they will to the best of their power promote and effect an absolute and entire restoration to the Society of Jesus, if it should please Almighty God to re-establish it in this country, of all property belonging to it; and, if any person, who has done good and faithful service to religion in this country, should not re-enter the Society so re-established, he is nevertheless to receive a comfortable maintenance whilst he continues to render the same services, and to be provided for as others in old age or infirmity.¹⁰

This resolution embodies the spirit which ruled the ex-Jesuits here until the American restoration came in 1806. And so thoroughly did they believe in the nearness of such an event that they began organizing at once into a Clergy Corporation for the purpose of preserving the property of the Society intact for that *magna dies* when they would meet again under the standard of Ignatius Loyola. They foresaw that encroachment on these property rights might arise from two sources: first, from the clerical "newcomers" into the country; and secondly from the person invested with spiritual jurisdiction in this country. Without a novitiate—and one was impossible to a non-existent religious Order—their own membership was doomed to constant losses by death; priests from foreign lands would undoubtedly come with their flocks to this country and soon these "newcomers" would outnumber the older men. The properties, while not im-

¹⁰ HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 628.

portant in size or in value, were not considered by the ex-Jesuits as belonging to themselves personally or collectively; they were pious funds and pious donations of lands and of houses for the support of religion in the American Missions, and as such the rigorous tenets of canon law governed their usage and their sale. In spite of all that has been written and published to the contrary, it is impossible to prove that the ex-Jesuits were ever recreant to this trust. Difficulties did arise, after Carroll and his successor Neale went to their graves, but through the whole controversy in Maréchal's day, the problem at issue was not objectively a personal one but one to be adjudged by canonical procedure. They showed no hesitancy in accepting the "new-comers," even though amongst them there were some to be found who shared the popular European satisfaction in the suppression of the Society. The Clergy Corporation was a protective association not for the ex-Jesuits, but for these estates which to them were sacred, in origin as well as in destination. Every newcomer accepted by Carroll as prefect-apostolic was eligible for membership in the Corporation, providing he submitted to these wise and salutary regulations. As far as the second danger was concerned, namely from the person who would be appointed over the American Church, in whatever capacity, they saw no difficulty, if he was one of their own members; but as superior (prefect-apostolic, vicar-apostolic, or bishop) he was to have no power "over or in the temporal property of the Clergy." Carroll's appointment as prefect-apostolic was the beginning of a more compact ecclesiastical organization, but it is very clear from the proceedings of the other General Chapters that, until the American priests were certain of the extraordinary and unusual privilege of electing a bishop for the United States, a prelate with ordinary jurisdiction was not welcome. When John Carroll was elected by them as their first bishop, one of his earliest acts (May 26, 1790) was to sign a declaration to the effect that the See of Baltimore would have no rights accruing to it from the former Jesuit estates. Again must this firm stand be interpreted as a protective measure with the same end in view. Carroll's declaration is as follows:

To prevent any disagreement or contention hereafter between the Bishop of Baltimore and his Clergy, or any of them, in consequence of

any words contained in his Holiness's brief for erecting the See of Baltimore &c.; I hereby declare that I do not conceive myself entitled by the said brief to claim any right of interference in the management of those estates in Maryland and Pennsylvania, which were heretofore applied to the maintenance of the Jesuit missionaries; and since their extinction, to the ex-Jesuits, and other Clergymen admitted to partake of their labor, in serving the Congregations, which were before served by the Jesuits.¹¹

Under this private arrangement Bishop Carroll strove to live until his death, in 1815. He received annually the support voted in his favor at the General Chapter of 1789, and little difficulty arose on this score.

Meanwhile, the reorganization of the Society of Jesus in the United States was not lost to sight. Father Carroll's correspondence on the subject with the English ex-Jesuits grows in volume as the years pass. Evidently, in reply to one of his letters, Father Thomas Talbot, the procurator of the dissolved English Province of the Society, wrote to Carroll, from London, on September 21, 1784, stating that, living as the Americans did, in "a free State, independent of foreign potentates and cabals, where liberty of conscience is not controlled, where Catholicity was first planted by the Jesuits, has hitherto been nursed by the Jesuits and solely brought by them to the perfection it now enjoys," it should be an easy matter for the former members of the Society in the United States to affiliate themselves with the Jesuit Province in White Russia, which was still unsuppressed, and over which Father Gruber, the Father-General presided. If this were done, and Father Talbot hopes there was none amongst the Americans "who would not fly to his colours with eagerness," many European Jesuits, and especially those in England, "would flock to you and would think themselves happy to end their career under the same banner they began it." When the dissension arose at the Second General Chapter (1786) over the resolution to establish a school "for the education of youth and the perpetuity of the body of clergy in this country," Father Carroll argued in reply that such a school would certainly become "a nursery from whence postulants can alone be expected," and in the same document

¹¹ Cited by HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 699.

we find the following expression of sentiment regarding the Society of Jesus:

We must bring to your minds that doleful era of the dissolution of the Society of Jesus, when we were torn from our dear Mother, whom we saw sacrificed before our eyes to the designs permitted by Divine Providence. In consequence of this we were left without father, without mother, oppressed with grief, uncertain of our future destiny. In these melancholy circumstances, a formula of subscription to episcopal government was presented to us from our Ordinary, the Bishop of London, who was directed by the Holy See to do the same.¹²

That the former members of the Society in America were discussing the Russian affiliation proposals as early as Carroll's appointment as prefect-apostolic is evident from a letter of Father Farmer to Carroll, dated Philadelphia, August 7, 1785:

What concerns our union with the Jesuits of Russia, tho' for my private satisfaction I wish it may be affected; yet does it seem to me, that the body of our Clergy here in General would not reap benefit by the union. First it is not likely that we could draw thence any supplies. 2ndly it would not joyn or link us better together unless they were all satisfyd and had or reassumed the Spirit of the Society. 3rdly, as it seems, supplies must ex parte come from secular or other religious clergy; our particular union would create a jealousy. For these reasons I keep in my particular desire of the Union; tho' I am pretty confident that Providence had not brought about such a strange establishment, as is that of the Society in Russia, did it not mean to continue it.¹³

Confiscation of the ex-Jesuit estates was being mooted about that time by some of the Maryland politicians, as we learn in Carroll's letter to Antonelli, of March 13, 1786; and in order to avoid such an eventuality, the American Clergy Corporation made every effort to secure a legal status before the State. Many objections were raised against granting the Corporation a charter, but it finally passed the Assembly on December 23, 1792.¹⁴

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 605. Carroll was long familiar with the proposal to unite with the Russians. There is extant a letter to this effect from one of the Russian Jesuits to Carroll, dated October 14, 1783, in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-V8. That Carroll was fully aware of the English ex-Jesuit sentiment for the Russian affiliation is evident from Plowden's letters of March 29, and June 28, 1786, in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 6-J10-11. Cf. CAMPBELL, *The Jesuits*, pp. 665-683.

¹³ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 6-P11; printed in the *Records*, vol. xix, pp. 389-390.

¹⁴ HUGHES, *l. c.*, pp. 635, 722.

An interesting incident occurred at this time. While Carroll was in Rome (1772-3), he made an unsuccessful attempt to meet Father John Thorpe, who became later his agent at Propaganda. Father Thorpe seems to have been one of the party of Jesuits who issued at the time of the election of Clement XIV a libellous attack on that Pope under the title *De Simoniaca Electione*. After the Suppression, in a series of letters to Father Charles Plowden, Thorpe described the conditions of Rome, and he embodied some of the stories anent the Pope. In fine, the letters give a complete and intimate sketch of Ganganelli's life. These letters, it is generally believed, were indiscreetly published by Father Plowden as *A Candid and Impartial Sketch of the Life and Government of Pope Clement XIV* (London, 1785). The work was deemed so scandalous that it was suppressed, and Father Thorpe was put on parole not to leave Rome for three months. Bishop Milner, Mr. Weld, Lord Arundell, Rev. Thomas Bellamy, Father Charles Cordell and others wrote against the book. It is probable that the American Jesuits never saw the book, but there was another, written by Father Plowden, which had considerable influence upon their plans for aggregating themselves to Russia. This was the *Ms. Account of the Preservation and Actual State of the Society of Jesus in the Russian Empire Dominion*,¹⁶ to which Carroll refers in his letter of July 11, 1786: "I found your two most acceptable favours . . . and at the same time your invaluable ms. account of the remnant of the Society, miraculously preserved, as it seems, to be the seed of a future generation. I have read it with great eagerness and infinite pleasure. . . ." ¹⁶ Again, on November 13, 1786, he speaks of Plowden's "most valuable Ms. which may be called the history of a providential deliverance of the Society from utter destruction." ¹⁷ The Ms. was passed from hand to hand among the American Fathers, and while it seems to have had no appreciable effect in stimulating their desire actually to join the Russian Province, it undoubtedly had an influence in their purpose to reëstablish themselves as members of the suppressed Society.

¹⁶ Printed in *Dolman's Magazine*, vol. v (1846-1847); cf. GILLOW, *Biographical Dictionary of English Catholics*, vol. v, pp. 323-324.

¹⁷ HUGHES, l. c., p. 683.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 683.

Two years later (April 25, 1788), thirteen of the American ex-Jesuits issued a circular, probably the composition of Leonard Neale, calling upon all the "Reverend Gentlemen formerly of the Society of Jesus in Maryland and Pennsylvania" to attend a meeting at St. Thomas' Manor, on the Monday following the third Sunday of July, when measures were to be adopted for the restoration of the Jesuits in America:

Most Esteemed and Reverend Brethren,

It is with the great distress of mind that we consider the various disturbances, which have agitated us in this part of the world, since the destruction of the Society of Jesus. Upon our exclusion from that happy government, we sincerely endeavored to obviate every inconvenience by substituting another form of government, proportioned, as nearly as we could judge, to the circumstances in which we found ourselves. But it seems that this established form has not produced that harmony and regularity, without which all is thrown into confusion, and we [are] compelled to surrender the idea of ever enjoying true comfort or happiness amidst the fatigues of our laborious Mission. This uncomfortable prospect naturally revives the memory of our former feelings and ideas. Our eager thoughts, by an uncontrollable bias, fix upon our dear and ancient Mother the Society, whilst, by a retrospective glance, we view the perfection of her unparalleled form of government, which ever preserved the most perfect union among her members, and, by her influencing energy filled all with a happiness that sweetened their labours, and afforded solid comfort in difficulties and distress. Yes, Revd. Gentlemen, we conceive this government of the Society to be the only one that can procure us the happiness our hearts are in search after. We have felt her control, we have experienced her influence, which have stamped impressions on our souls not to be erased. In pursuit of this our object, we will not, we cannot loose sight of a reunion with our darling Mother, till such time as Providence shall frustrate our active endeavours, and point out this impossibility. We have therefore come to a full determination of applying for this reunion, a determination not to be baffled by any attempts. We most sincerely wish for the unanimous concurrence of all our Brethren in this important affair. However, all being free, we reflect on none. We solicit none to subscribe to this determination, but such as are of the sentiments with ourselves.¹⁸

The names signed to this remarkable expression of belief in the future of the Society were: Walton, Matthews, Boarman (John), Jenkins, Pile, Neale (Leonard), Roels, Doyne, Boone, Boarman (Sylvester), Beeston, Graessl, and Molyneux, John

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 683-684.

Carroll's name is not among these, and that apparently for two reasons. The first no doubt had to do with his post as prefect-apostolic. As head of the American Church, his immediate superior was the Cardinal-Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide. The Sacred Congregation was certainly then not in favour of the restoration of the Jesuits. Even later, Pius VII, for example, did not announce to Propaganda the Restoration in 1814.¹⁹ The second reason is that Carroll had begun to waver in his belief that the Society in the United States was capable of restoration. About the time of the circular letter, he wrote to Father Beeston, one of its signers, at Philadelphia (March 22, 1788): "I considered farther that it is very uncertain how long the spirit of the Society will be kept alive, at least in this country. I am afraid not much longer than they live who have been trained under its discipline."²⁰ Perhaps, a third reason might be added: the attacks being made upon him by Fathers Poterie and Smyth in their publications, in which they alleged that he showed favouritism towards the old members of the Society. In two letters to Charles Plowden at this time, Carroll gives voice to his fear of being deluded in the restoration. On May 8, 1789, he says: "O poor Jesuits! when shall we have you again? You communicated in your last some dubious information concerning them. I have been so often the dupe of my hopes, that I am becoming very incredulous to reports of any favourable turn in their affairs."²¹ Again, on July 12, 1789, he writes: "It is singular enough, that some of our own friends are blaming me for being too irresolute or indifferent, for not adopting their most intemperate councils with respect to restoring the Society; whilst, on the other hand, Smyth, the Abbé [Poterie] and others, are accusing me of sacrificing to this intention the good of religion."²²

We do not know what the results of the July, 1788, meeting were, but they could not have been very encouraging, for no mention of the restoration is made in the Proceedings of the Third General Chapter of the Clergy, held at Whitemarsh, May 11-18,

¹⁹ WARD, *Eve, etc.*, vol. i, p. 210; cf. HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 817.

²⁰ HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 616. It is about this time that Carroll's correspondence with Father Strickland on the question of the aggregation to Russia begins. These letters are in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-A5, and Case 9-K4.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 688.

²² *Ibid.*

1789. The principal questions at issue in that meeting were the proposed bishopric for the United States and the incorporation of the ex-Jesuit estates. Carroll himself was preoccupied with the thought of his election to the episcopate by his fellow priests, and also with the serious troubles some of the foreign priests in the country were causing. He gives us also a hint for the proper understanding of his attitude on the question of restoring the Society in a letter to Plowden thanking him for congratulations on his election to the See of Baltimore:

. . . . Your condolence would have suited better the situation of my mind; every day furnishes me with new reflections, and almost every day produces new events, to alarm my conscience, and excite fresh solicitude at the prospect before me. You cannot conceive the trouble I suffer already, and still greater which I foresee, from the medley of clerical characters coming from different quarters and various educations, and seeking employment here. I cannot avoid employing some of them, and they begin soon to create disturbance. As soon as this happens, they proceed to bring in Jesuitism, and to suggest that everything is calculated by me for its restoration; and that I sacrifice the real interests of religion to the chimerical project of reviving it.²³

Occasionally letters arrived from England asking for information on the progress being made in the aggregation of the American ex-Jesuits to the Russian Province. The English members of the suppressed Society could not understand why the Americans were not more prompt, living in a land where there could be no opposition on the part of the Government.

Father Carroll was now Bishop-elect of the See of Baltimore, and therefore bound by even stronger ties to the Sacred Congregation. He foresaw that as chief shepherd he would be forced sooner or later to take action on the restoration being planned by his former brethren in the Society. His views on this delicate matter on the eve of his departure for London are in a letter, dated March 16, 1790, to Plowden:

My Brethren here have been deluding themselves, for a long time, with ideas of a restoration, founded on what appeared to me very shallow support indeed. But at present I cannot help thinking, that the late convulsions in Europe, when traced to their real sources, must discover

²³ Carroll to Plowden, Baltimore, October 23, 1789, printed in *HUGHES, I. C.*, p. 688.

to every thinking mind the necessity of a virtuous education, and of encouraging men, capable of conducting the rising generation through all the degrees of moral, religious and literary improvement. On whom then can the governing powers turn their eyes, but on those who are trained under the discipline of the Society? A few seminaries or universities may be indeed supplied with excellent instructors without recurring to them. But numerous professors, sufficient to fill the chairs of every considerable town, cannot be formed and held to their duty, except it be in a body, constituted as the Society. . . .²⁴

During his stay in London, it was but logical that he would do his utmost to set aside the charge made by Smyth that he favoured the ex-Jesuits in the selection for parishes. This charge was a threadbare one to the English Jesuits and it was difficult for Carroll to arouse their interest. Dr. Carroll reached London in stirring time. Bishop James Talbot, Vicar-Apostolic of the London District, died at Hammersmith, January 26, 1790, and London for the first time in a century was without a bishop. "While Bishop Talbot lay dying, Catholic England was working itself up into a ferment over the question of the Oath, nor was even a temporary cessation deemed necessary out of respect for his memory when he died."²⁵ It was not until the week following Carroll's consecration that London received its Bishop in the person of the Rt. Rev. John Douglass. The Oath of Allegiance had been the cause of dissension, controversy and schism martyrdom since the days of Elizabeth, and during the summer of 1790, a war of pamphlets about it was being carried on by the two factions among the Catholics. Carroll's friend, Charles Plowden, was in the thick of the fight, and it must have been a novel experience for America's first bishop to follow the actions of the Catholic Committee in its determined stand against accepting Bishop-elect Douglass. The opposition lasted until the end of the year, but finally the new bishop-elect won his way to the hearts of the gentlemen of the Committee, and on December 19, 1790, Bishop Douglass was consecrated at the chapel at Lulworth Castle, by Bishop Walmesley, the consecrator of Bishop Carroll. Charles Plowden preached also at the consecration of Bishop Douglass, as he had done at Lulworth on August 15, when Dr. Carroll was consecrated. The summer of 1790 in London brought

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 682.

²⁵ WARD, *Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England*, vol. i, p. 201. London, 1909.

Dr. Carroll into personal touch with all the Catholic leaders, lay and cleric, of England, and as a consequence, his correspondence with Plowden down to 1815 contains many references to the Oath and the Catholic Relief Bill.

On September 2, 1790, he wrote from "King's Street, London," to Father Plowden as follows:

My dear Sir

Many thanks for yours of Aug. 31st., and for your solicitude that I should clear myself to Cardl. Antonelli from the calumnies of Smyth—I am not certain, that the Cardl has ever heard of Smyth's pamphlet; I rather suspect, that La Poterie has caused his forgeries to fall into the Cardl's hands. Coghlan brought me today some of that vile Man's Performances; not against me: but some that he foolishly published concerning himself, on his first coming to Boston and a sort of pastoral instruction, which he had the temerity and folly to publish there before the Lent of 1788. I shall give Cardl. Antonelli very satisfactory reasons for coming to England. Neither the president of Doway, nor Mr. Wm. Meynell are yet come to town; nor even Mr. Thos. Meynell. There is great inconsistency in the objections, which some make, not to the truth of your doctrine respecting the Pope's Infallibility, but the policy of asserting it in print at this time. They say with Mr. Reeve, that the English generally understand, that by infallibility we mean to assert the Pope's infallible prerogative in all orders he issues, or facts which he asserts. Now if this be true, where is the impolicy of your asserting that the pope has no such infallibility; but only in doctrinal points. To obviate this observation, which I made yesterday to Mr. Chs. Butler, he said, contrary to your other opponents, that the English not only object to the pope's infallibility in giving orders stating facts (an infallibility asserted by no one) but likewise consider his doctrinal infallibility as a pernicious tenet and dangerous to civil government. I have a letter from the Nuncio at Paris, and another from Monsgr. Emery, Superior Genl. of the Seminary of St. Sulpice. They both solicit my passage to Paris to confer with some gentlemen of the Seminary, who wish to employ in the rearing of young clergymen in America, that experience, which is made useless by the revolution in their own country. They offer to bestow their services gratis. We certainly are not ripe for a seminary: it would take some years before we shall have scholars far enough advanced to profit by this generous offer. I shall hear from them in answer to the letter I shall send tomorrow. On Saturday, I propose going to Bury for two days. Mr. Talbot says, I must go to secure a handsome donation to the academy which will be bestowed on no other condition. This consideration apart, how much more pleasure would I have in visiting Lullworth?

Our academy, from its situation, would probably be conspicuous. The great object is, to procure for it an eminent and good Master. My

letters from America, as well as the public prints inform me that the district, now settled for the future capital of the United States and permanent residence of Congress, is on Potowmack river. Commissioners under the direction of the President are to determine the particular spot, in a district of about 50 miles, lying on that river. The knowledge, I have of the country, makes me confident, it will be either at Georgetown, or what would answer better for our school, within four miles of it.

My poor Nephew, Danl. Carroll, whom you knew, is dead; pray for him. I know not when I shall be able to execute my promise relative to your book on infallibility.²⁶ Interruptions of company, letters, long dinners, etc., take up my whole time. I cannot yet determine the time of my repeating my visit to you, or whether I can repeat it at all. Affairs at Boston demand my return to America—I have received from the two priests there mutual charges and recriminations. I let Coghlan copy the preamble of the bull—I have marked a passage or two, which I would have omitted: the 1st. is, that a state cannot be safe, in which new and vigorous doctrines are permitted to range (which is contrary to the maxim of our policy and our experience in America): the other is *pro hac vice tantum*; a clause I wish to keep from the knowledge and notice of our rulers, and which will probably be altered. I think there is in the latter part another clause of the same import.

When I write next to Lullworth, I shall presume that Mr. Weld is returned, and I shall do myself the pleasure of acknowledging his great politeness and still greater kindness.²⁷

There is no mention of restoration plans in this letter, but in that of September 7, 1790, to the same correspondent, he says: "I received a letter last night from our worthy Mr. Francis Neale, who continues in his old stile to urge the reestablishment in spite of every prudential reason against the attempt, till Divine Providence opens a better prospect."²⁸ A week later, he informed Plowden of the contents of Thorpe's letter from Rome (August 21, 1790), since "it chiefly turns on the subject of Cardinal Antonelli being haunted with the fears of the revival of the Society in America. I think it is providential that his alarms have been raised since the issuing of the bulls for erecting the See of Baltimore. I suspect otherwise it would have been refused. I shall now write to

²⁶ *Considerations on the Modern Opinion of the Fallibility of the Holy See in the Decision of Dogmatical Questions.* London, 1790.

²⁷ The Carroll-Plowden correspondence and other Maryland papers in the *Stonyhurst Archives* were copied for the writer by the eminent Jesuit historian, Father John Hungerford Pollen. They are not catalogued and are referred to in these pages simply as *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

²⁸ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

the Cardinal in plain language on the subject."²⁹ Cardinal Antonelli's fear was aroused by the calumnies of Fathers Poterie and Smyth, and it is for this reason that Carroll tells the head of the Sacred Congregation (September 27, 1790) that since his appointment as Prefect-Apostolic of the United States (1784) he had commissioned thirty priests for the work of the American mission; seven of these only were ex-Jesuits, and twenty-three non-Jesuits.³⁰

The financial affairs of the Society, before the Suppression were regulated for England and the American colonies through the English Provincial's hands, and while in London, Father Strickland and Bishop Carroll signed a joint memorandum adjusting their mutual claims.³¹

Apart from his interest in the Catholic Committee's activities Bishop Carroll found his time rather well taken up in writing appeals to wealthy Catholic noblemen of England for monetary assistance for his diocese,³² and with the proposal made to him by Father Nagot regarding the foundation of the Seminary in Baltimore. On his return to the United States, the two educational projects—Georgetown and St. Mary's Seminary—gave him little opportunity to be troubled over the revival of the Society, and with the grant of the charter for the Corporation (December, 1792), he no doubt felt that the old Jesuit properties would be sufficiently protected without a restoration. The next General Chapter, held at Whitemarsh (November 7, 1792) was attended by twenty-two priests, four of whom were non-Jesuits, but nothing seems to have been done in the matter of the restoration. The main resolutions passed refer to the support of Georgetown and the Seminary. Subsequent meetings of the Select Body of the Clergy, which directed the use of the ex-Jesuit estates, and the correspondence between Rome and Baltimore, were silent on the question of the Society's revival until 1795, when apparently the Select Board passed a formal resolution to the effect that the Holy See was to be asked to reestablish the Society of Jesus in the United States. Among the *Shea Transcripts* at Georgetown

²⁹ HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 688.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Propaganda Archives, Scrittura originali*, vol. 893 (not folioed).

³² A list of these benefactions will be found in HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 690, note 12.

there is a copy of an "imperfect manuscript of Dr. Carroll on the Restoration of the Society of Jesus," in which Bishop Carroll says: "I have devoted much time to the consideration of the subject recommended to me by some of our Brethren whom I greatly respect, and latterly by the Trustees who were assembled at the Marsh, 1795. This subject is an application to His Holiness for a revival of the Society in the United States." Dr. Carroll then discusses the precautions necessary in approaching the subject, and though the measure is a highly desirable one, he confesses: "I am far from an intimate conviction that any considerable advantage would be derived from the reappearance of the Society with a mutilated and defective Constitution, instead of that one, compleat in all its parts, by which the Jesuits were formerly governed. Indeed, I should have fears that such a restitution might be of prejudice by preventing a full and entire one, in some later period."⁸³ That Dr. Carroll was justified in these prudent views is borne out by the failure of the pseudo-Jesuit Society, then established in France, under the name of Paccanarists.

The general status of the Society at the opening of the century was greatly changed by the Pontifical Brief *Catholicae Fidei*, of March 7, 1801, granting a legal or canonical existence to the Order as a body in Russia, with the singular privilege of aggregating members from any part of the world.⁸⁴ The Russian Province now had a General of the Society at its head in the person of Father Gabriel Gruber (10 Oct., 1802—April 7, 1805), and it was evident to the Catholic world that the full and "compleat" reappearance of the Society was but a question of time. It was the long captivity of the Pope at Savona which prevented the canonical restoration of the Society before his freedom in 1814. Father Thomas Hughes rightfully sees a providential action in the partial restoration of the Jesuits in the United States in 1806; for, when the general revival came in 1814, only one Jesuit of the old veteran members of 1773, was alive—Father Charles Neale.

The year previous to the Russian restoration, Bishop Carroll had entered into negotiations with Prince Charles de Broglie and

⁸³ Cited by HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 818, note 13.

⁸⁴ Carroll received this intelligence from Father Strickland in a letter dated London, September 29, 1801. (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-Da.) Cf. CAMPBELL, *The Jesuits*, pp. 636-664.

Abbé Rozaven, the leaders of the Society of the Fathers of the Faith, commonly known as Paccanarists. Among the many attempts made to revive the rule and the aims of the Society of Jesus during the Interim (1773-1814) two only were blessed with some measure of success. The first of these was the Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, founded by two young seminarists of St. Sulpice (Paris) who had taken refuge in Belgium during the French Revolution—François Eléonor de Tournély and Prince Charles de Broglie, a son of the famous Marshal, Prince de Broglie. They set up a novitiate near Louvain, where they were joined by several brilliant young army officers, notably, Joseph Varin. In 1794, they were forced to flee from Belgium at the advance of the French army, but during the wanderings of the little community, studies were kept up and several of their members were ordained. A final stand was made at Hagebrunn, near Vienna, in 1797, and Father Varin was chosen Superior. Meanwhile, at Rome, Nicholas Paccanari, a native of Valsugnana, near Trent, had founded a similar community, under the title, the Company of the Faith of Jesus. This second society proved attractive to many of the ex-Jesuits, and a fusion with the French Society of the Sacred Heart was proposed and effected in 1790. Paccanari, then only a tonsured cleric, was elected superior-general of the united community, henceforth known as the Fathers of the Faith. In 1800, Fathers De Broglie and Rozaven were sent to England in quest of subjects. The Fathers of the Faith at this time numbered about 150 members. As has been seen, among the ex-Jesuits who joined the new community was Father Forrester, the master of ceremonies at Carroll's consecration, but Father Charles Plowden was in the beginning as strongly opposed to a partial resoration of the Society's Constitutions and Rule as Bishop Carroll was. Abbé de Broglie opened a school in Kensington, London, but he came to grief in 1805. Paccanari himself proved to be somewhat of an adventurer, and disappeared in 1809. Almost all the Fathers of the Faith entered either the Russian Province of the Society of Jesus before 1814, or the restored Society after its revival.

Fathers Rozaven and De Broglie wrote to Bishop Carroll on July 4, 1800, telling him of the creation of an English Province of the Fathers of the Faith, with Father Rozaven as Provincial,

and urging the American ex-Jesuits to join the new community. They offered their services in the missions and especially in the work of teaching at Georgetown. Bishop Carroll and his coadjutor, Bishop-elect Neale, replied (October 27, 1800), accepting with gratitude the proposal made, and they asked that one or two of the Fathers well versed in philosophy and especially in natural philosophy and mathematics, and not ignorant of English, be sent out from England to Georgetown, where a hearty welcome would be given them. Besides these, the Missions needed two or three good priests, especially those who knew German. On this same day, Bishop Carroll wrote to Father Strickland, saying that money would be forthcoming for the expenses of the journey of "one or two professors of philosophy for Georgetown College." Further details of this attempt of the Paccanarists to make a beginning in the United States, are given in Carroll's letter to Plowden, under date of December 15, 1800:

Since the receipt of your last, as I probably mentioned to you in June, I received and answered a letter from London, sent to me by Messrs. de Broglie and Rosaven. They gave the outlines of their institute, and its acceptance by the late and present pope. I can entertain no doubt of the zeal and sound principles of this new body of recruits to the church, of which I have heard much from other quarters; therefore have requested them to send two of their Society to this country, where they will learn in the space of a few months, much more concerning the probability and means of forming establishments here, than can be learned by twenty letters. Their place is, I hope the work of God, tho' in one point they have departed from S. Ignatius, viz: that of engrafting on their institution a new order of nuns, to be under the government of the Superiors of their own Society. I should be glad to hear of the manner of their reception in England and success there.

Mr. Stone, to whom I send my best respects, will receive a letter signed by some of our Brethren, amongst whom is Dns. Doyme, concerning this application to me from these two Delegates of the Society of the Faith of Jesus. They (our Brethren) met together without a general concert of the rest of us, and full of zeal for the re-establishment of the Society, have written as if that happy event were already effected, and I have seen a letter from one of those, who attended that meeting, in which, to the signature of his name, he adds the word, *Soc. I.* This is going too fast for one who subscribed his submission to the operation of the destructive Brief. In mine to MM. Broglie and Rosaven, at the request of the Presidt. of Georgetown College, I solicited them to send if they could a capable professor of philosophy, logic and natural [Writer began to write "natural religion," but stopped with "re," which he can-

celled, leaving natural uncanceled] and who should know English, referring them to Mr. Stone thro' Mr. Strickland.³⁵

The joint letter of the seven Maryland ex-Jesuits to which Dr. Carroll refers was one drawn up after a meeting held at St. Thomas Manor November 28, 1800, for the purpose of considering a union with the Paccanarists.³⁶ The letter sent to Bishop Carroll by De Broglie and Rozaven was carefully considered, and a history of the Fathers of the Faith, by Father Halnat, who had brought about the amalgamation of the two communities, was read. The leaders of the Fathers of the Faith were then assured that they would find the American ex-Jesuits ready for union. Dr. Carroll objected to this proceeding because all the Jesuits were not represented, and because he feared, as he had said before, any hasty action which might endanger the general restoration of the Society.

A year apparently went by before anything further was done, though we find on October 19, 1801, Bishop Neale giving way to a spirit of discouragement in a letter to Father Stone, then President of Stonyhurst College: "All the members of the Society here are now grown old, the youngest being past 54. Death therefore holds out his threatening rod, and excites us to redoubled wishes for the re-establishment of the Society, on which the welfare of this country seems much to depend."³⁷ When the news came of the pontifical approval given to the Society in Russia (1801), hopes were immediately aroused by the little remnant of the Jesuits here that they might be canonically aggregated to that Province. On March 12, 1802, Dr. Carroll tells Father Plowden that he had heard of the Russian restoration: "I beg you to send me, as early as possible, all the authentic information on this subject of which you are in possession."³⁸ Father Strickland had already sent the news, however, for on April 21, 1802, Bishop Neale wrote to Stone: "We have heard of the re-establishment of the Society thro' Mr. Strickland. But the clear light does not yet shine on us. . . . Anything genuine from our ancient body would

³⁵ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

³⁶ A digest of this letter is in HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 761.

³⁷ HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 761. Neale's Correspondence on the Paccanarist and Russian episodes is in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 5 P. Q. R.

³⁸ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

be highly gratifying.”³⁹ The Americans seem to have been left in the dark for a long time. Bishop Neale was constantly being importuned by the old Jesuits to obtain exact information of their status, and he wrote to Stone (June 30, 1802): “For God’s sake relieve me from my distressed situation.” Finally, on August 30, 1802, seven of the American ex-Jesuits met at Newtown and sent a joint letter to the two bishops, asking that they write at once to the General of the Society in Russia, “in our behalf to inform him of our wish to be reinstated.” They desired also information regarding the status of the ex-Jesuit properties, and they asked for an authentic copy of the *Catholicae Fidei*. The appointment of a visitor or commissary-general, to be sent from Russian or England, was likewise urged. Those who signed this Petition were: Fathers Charles Neale, James Walton, John Bolton, Ignatius Baker Brooks, Charles Sewall, Robert Molyneux, and Sylvester Boarman. But direct communication with Father-General Gruber, in Russia, was very difficult, owing to the disturbed condition of affairs in Europe.

The Paccanarist movement died out in the United States as quickly as it began. One of the Fathers of the Faith, Rev. Nicholas Zocchi, arrived here about this time. He had gone first to Canada, but the government there would not permit him to remain, and he came to Baltimore.⁴⁰ Dr. Carroll says of him in a letter to Plowden (February 12, 1803):

One of their [Paccanarist] body is now here, *Romano di nascita*, his name Zocchi. He went from England to Canada but the rigor of government there allows not of any foreign Catholic clergymen settling in it; he therefore came hither, but being of a narrow understanding, he does nothing but pine for the arrival of his brethren, and in the meantime will undertake no service. From this sample of the new order, I am induced to believe that they are very little instructed in the maxims or Institute of our venerable mother, the Society. Tho’ they profess to have no other rules than ours, he seems to me to know nothing of the structure of our Society, nor even to have read the *regulae communes*, which our very novices knew almost by heart.⁴¹

³⁹ HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 762. Strickland finally sent to Carroll the information asked, in the autumn of 1804 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-D4, 5). These letters also contain the English attitude towards Borgia’s opposition to the aggregation with Russia.

⁴⁰ *Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec, Halifax MSS.*, 4, 106.

⁴¹ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

From this time forward, all hopes for restoration were centered on Russia. Shea writes:

It was a period of great anxiety and perplexity in which neither Dr. Carroll nor his pious coadjutor, Bishop Neale, could see his way clearly. They wrote to Father Gabriel Gruber, General of the Jesuits in Russia. "We who write this letter to your Paternity were formerly of the Society of Jesus and the Province of England. After the fell destruction of the Society in 1773, we returned to this our native land, and have labored in it together with fellow-members of our Society, ours being the only Catholic priests who have labored for the salvation of souls since the first entrance of Christians into these lands." They then detailed the erection of the Diocese of Baltimore and the influx of other priests. The fourteen surviving members of the Society, most of them broken by years and toil, remained chiefly in the two States of Maryland and Pennsylvania, in which was the oldest and most powerful residence of Catholics. They state how joyously they had learned of the preservation of the Society in Russia, and the permission given him by a Papal brief to enroll again in the Society those who had formerly been members. "Wherefore most of them solicit with ardent desire, that by renewing the same vows, which they had vowed to God in the Society of Jesus, they may be permitted to end their days in its bosom; and if it can be done by the will of Providence, spend the remainder of their lives in restoring the Society among us. You know, Very Rev. Father, what and how much must be done that not a mere larva of the old Society, but its genuine form, the rule, and proper spirit may revive in them all." To effect this the two bishops asked: 1. Whether the Sovereign Pontiff had permitted the erection of the Society elsewhere than in Russia, by an authentic brief or bull. 2. Whether the Pope permitted only the former members to re-enter, or authorized the reception of new members. 3. What probation was to precede the restoration of former members. 4. How delegates were to be chosen to the General Congregation. They urged him to select some Father of great prudence, experience in the direction of affairs, and deeply imbued with the spirit of Saint Ignatius, to come over, with such powers of a Visitor as the holy founder conferred on Saint Francis Borgia and others, and effect the restoration. They did not consider any one of the Fathers in America eligible, as they had been absorbed in missionary duty and had enjoyed little leisure to study the Constitutions and the acts of the General Congregations. If no one in England could be found, they preferred an Italian or a German. The bishops stated that the property formerly belonging to the Society had been nearly all preserved, and was sufficient to maintain at least thirty Fathers; and that part of it had been employed in founding a College for the education of young men. They further mentioned their own elevation to the episcopate and the freedom enjoyed by Catholics, under which there was no obstacle to religious orders; and closed

by expressing their fervent wish that some hope and beginning of the restoration of the Society may result from their correspondence.⁴³

Another year was to pass before an answer to this letter reached the United States. Meanwhile, the Society received partial restoration in England, having been aggregated to Russia, by Father Gruber in 1803, and after the opening of the regular novitiate at Hodder, it is easy to recognize Charles Plowden's fine hand in effecting a similar restoration in the United States.⁴⁴ The long delay in hearing from Russia influenced some to consider the advisability of joining the English Province, then under Father Stone, as superior. Georgetown College was not flourishing, and it was evident that it would continue to show signs of decline under Bishop Neale's direction. The only hope of saving the institution was to place it in the hands of the Society, whose estates had helped so considerably in building and equipping it, and if the ex-Jesuits here could count upon help from Stonyhurst, they would willingly join the English Province. The situation was also clouded by the fact that Father Emery had recalled the Sulpicians. Bishop Neale wrote to Stone on June 25, 1803:

Some have already departed, others are on the point of sailing. Of course, the seminary is no longer calculated on. The school for boys erected there (St. Mary's College), to the great prejudice of George Town College, still exists; but as the Spanish youths, their chief support, are ordered by their Government to return immediately to their native country, it must naturally fall to nothing. Our number of scholars is very small, but we still stand in the critical moment of trial. Were it the will of Heaven that the Society be speedily re-established here, I should be happy to deliver up my presidency to their happier guidance.⁴⁵

⁴³ SERA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 517-519, cited from the *Woodstock Letters*, vol. iv, p. 73. (Cf. CRÉTENEAU-JOLY, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. vi, pp. 358ss. Paris, 1846.) The present writer found it impossible to obtain permission to secure a complete set of the *Woodstock Letters*, but was fortunate in being able to consult them in a library abroad. References to the *Letters* are not given, since in most cases the original documents are cited.

⁴⁴ Betagh wrote to Carroll from Dublin, August 6, 1805, that nineteen young Irish novices were under Plowden's direction at Hodder (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case I-O4). A characteristic situation appears in a letter from Strickland, who wrote to Carroll from London, July 11, 1806, saying that Father Plowden had found a serious difficulty in controlling the Irish novices, the leader of whom told the English Superior that they would obey an "Italian, German, or even a Turkish Superior, but would never submit to an Englishman." (*Ibid.*, Case 8-D8.)

⁴⁵ HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 798.

On November 21, 1803, Bishop Carroll, who was then in New York, wrote to Father Strickland, in order to hasten Father Gruber's answer:

Rev. and hond. Sir.

The inclosed letters are for the very Rev. Fr. Gruber, Genl. of the Society. One of them is the duplicate of another written in May last, to which no answer is yet received; and fearful of miscarriage by way of Hamburg, to which the first copy was to have been sent, I take the liberty of inclosing these to you, and requesting the Genl. to send his answers thro' you. This I was induced to do; after hearing of the station, in which you are placed, and chosen by providence, as it may reasonably be hoped, to revive the spirit and renew the usefulness of the Society. The letters inclosed express the wishes of some of our former Brethren and of several others, priests and non-priests to be re-admitted, and first admitted into it. Being here on a visitation, I have only time to add, that the vessel is sailing, that I hope you will charge the postage on this and similar occasions to my account with Thos. Wright and Co., and assure MM. Plowden, Semmes, Spencer, and all my other acquaintances of my continued respect and attachment. To Mr. Plowden I will write soon, and shall always remain, Revd. hond. Sir.

Your most obedt. and Br. in Xt.

✠ JOHN, Bishop of Baltre.⁴⁵

P. S. I leave blank the cover of my letters to the General, that you may give to it the proper direction. Rev. Mr. Joseph Doyne died Oct. 28 of this year.

Father Gruber eventually received the petition of the American ex-Jesuits, and replied on March 12, 1804, expressing his happiness at the news of the Americans' desire to revive the Society. Father Gruber justified the aggregation of the Americans by the *vivae vocis oraculum*, and admitted all those who wished to unite with the Russian Province. He prescribed an eight days' retreat to those who should re-enter the Society, and gave a formula of oath for the profession. He added:

Wherefore I beseech you by your love for our most excellent Mother, to appoint some one of our old Fathers there, full of the spirit of God and St. Ignatius, who may examine those who are to be admitted for the first time, instruct, form, and watch over them: who if it seems best to you, may communicate with Father Stone, Provincial of England, or with Father Strickland at London. . . . In the meanwhile I commit the whole

⁴⁵ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

to the favor, zeal, and patronage of yourself, Most Illustrious and Reverend Lord and your coadjutor the Bishop of Gortyna. If you both consider that it will be easy to communicate with Father Stone, the Provincial of England, let ours turn to him for the necessary government. If Father Stone is too distant, inform me, and propose some one of our Fathers in America whom I can appoint Provincial. In the meantime, let the most Illustrious and Reverend Bishop of Baltimore designate one who may govern not only the novices but the whole reviving Society, with all the powers, which I concede *ad interim* to the one thus to be selected.⁴⁶

"Bishop Carroll and his coadjutor, Bishop Neale," says Shea, "were animated with the deepest affection for the Society of which they had been members. Nothing was dearer to their hearts than its restoration, and had it then been authorized by a brief of equal power with that suppressing it, both would in all probability have resigned the episcopal dignity to become once more simple Fathers of the Society of Jesus."⁴⁷

When this letter reached the United States is not known. Bishop Carroll wrote to Father Strickland, August 4, 1804:

I request you in the first place to return for answer to Fr. Gruber, that I have not yet received any letter from him, tho' one is expected impatiently by many of our Brethren. But even when his answer arrives, unless it presents the reestablishment of the Society in a view different from any that I have yet seen, it will, in my opinion, be very unsafe to enter into any engagement in it, at least so as to divest ones-self of the means of living independent, if after abdicating one's property another Pope should declare the re-establishment in virtue of a mere verbal promise, void, and contrary to Ecclesiastical institutions, and especially so in countries where it had been abolished in virtue of a brief, accepted and intimated by the first pastors, and submitted to expressly, tho' most unwillingly, by the members of the Society then living. But if the members of the Society, before their profession do not abdicate their property, they will not be truly religious, nor most assuredly Jesuits, according to the standard of St. Ignatius—I cannot even conceive, how there can be any *professi quatuor votorum* in the present state of things, for reasons which it is unnecessary to mention to any one, who like you, remember the principles of our Theology concerning the difference between the dissolubility of solemn and simple vows. However, I hope sincerely that the Pope will soon be so unfettered, as to be able to issue in full and authentic form a bull or brief for the re-establishment. In this hope I

⁴⁶ Gruber to Carroll, March 12, 1804, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 4-C7. Another copy in Case 8A-R2.

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 520-521.

am encouraged by a letter from Rome, received since I wrote the first lines of this; and the more so as it does not come from one of our former Brethren who are easily led to hope, what they ardently wish; but from a Dominican of note and character there, Fr. Concanen. You mention Fr. Angiolini's mission to Naples, only as a rumor, of which you expected a confirmation but Fr. Concanen says positively, that he was lately gone from Rome to that city to settle the four Houses granted by the king to the Jts: that an edict had been issued there in 1787 withdrawing all Regulars from any subjection to Generals or Superiors living out of the Kingdom; that Angiolini insisted on the necessity of preserving the Institute inviolate, and consequently of the Jesuits recognizing Fr. Gruber for their Superior; and that it was believed, he would succeed in obtaining a revocation of the decree which would be of the greatest benefit not only to his own, but all other religious Orders.⁴⁸

By the end of the year (1804) several of the young men at Georgetown College and at the Seminary had expressed a desire to join the Society of Jesus as soon as it was restored; but Dr. Carroll was not encouraged by this, because, as he said, "we are wretchedly provided with experienced and fit members to train and form them." No answer had come by December 7, 1804, as Carroll states in a letter to Father Plowden, and he gives his opinion quite emphatically that he is not satisfied with the *viva voce* method of being restored to the Society:

I would neither trust to it myself or advise others to do so; in which opinion I am confirmed the more, by knowing that His Holiness either will not or dares not to exert authority enough to prevent Cardinal Borgia from writing such a letter to Your VV. AA., as is mentioned by Mr. Stone. . . . So much mystery has been made of all proceedings concerning it [*the Restoration*], that every one is full of distrust, to which the general state of religion and the influence enjoyed by its greatest foes contributes in great measure.

Again, in this same letter he speaks of Molyneux' disapproval of the secretive measures adopted by the English Jesuits.

Robert is not pleased with the secrecy which prevails with your principal people in the transactions relative to the Society. In general, I do not approve of the system of conducting without any communication the affairs concerning so small a body as the remnant of the Society in England; but, at the same time, it is reasonable to suppose, that there is good cause for it, and it would be very rash for any one, at my distance,

⁴⁸ *Stonycroft Transcripts.*

to blame a conduct, of which he cannot know the motives. Your Br.'s sound sense, great virtues, and steady attachment to the Society are a sure warrant of his acting on principle, and I have no doubt of others acting equally so, tho' they agree not on the means. My greatest objections to a dependence on a *vivae vocis oraculum* (a modern phrase unknown for many centuries), is, that it gives no stability to a religious order; that cannot abrogate a public and acknowledged instrument, such as the brief of destruction; and that without an authentic bull of approbation of the Institute, the distinction of simple & solemn vows, so essential to the Society, does not exist according to the doctrine of our Divines, after Suarez.

Acting on Father Gruber's letter of aggregation Bishop Carroll, on June 21, 1805, the Feast of St. Aloysius Gonzaga, appointed Father Robert Molyneux superior of the restored Society of Jesus in the United States.

Rev. and Dear Sir,

You know the purport of the letter, which I received from the very Rev. Fr. Gabriel Gruber, Gen. of the Society in Russia. Messrs. Bolton and Brooke have likewise informed you of the proceedings had thereupon at St. Thomas's. To give life and vigor to the measures recommended by the Genl. it seemed necessary to begin with that exercise of power, with which I was entrusted by his Paternity; that is, the appointment of a Superior, to be one of the former body of the Society, and a candidate for readmission. His authority will last till the General's will be further declared. I am therefore now to make known to you, that you are appointed to that office; and, as no special form of appointment was made use of by the General in delegating to me his power for nominating a Superior, I am to presume that nothing more than his notification is requisite to invest you for the present with all the rights and privileges, power and authority, wherewith the Provincials of the Society were formerly invested; which rights, power and authority are to appertain to you, till the Genl. shall otherwise ordain. Of this appointment notice will be sent hence to George Town and S. Thomas's. You will cause this letter to be read to those, who desire to belong to the Society in St. Mary's County.

That God may bless this attempt to restore the Society in the United States, and all your labours to effect it, is the earnest prayer of, *etc.*⁴⁹

⁴⁹ HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 820. Father Molyneux is occasionally spoken of as Provincial. He was only Superior of the affiliated American Jesuits. When he died on December 9, 1808, Father Charles Neale became Superior, and on October 1, 1812, Neale was superseded by Father Kohlmann, who resigned in 1812, to be succeeded by Father John Grassi. In 1817, Father Grassi was followed by Kohlmann, and on November 15, 1821, Charles Neale again became Superior. He was succeeded by Father Dzierozynski, on August 13, 1823, and in November, 1830, Father Kenney was placed in charge of the American Jesuits. It was only in 1833 that the Province was erected,

The Society of Jesus in the United States, even though part of such a far-away Province, now possessed canonical rights and privileges before the Church and the Church's representative in episcopal power and jurisdiction, Bishop Carroll of Baltimore. Its situation was of course a different one from that which had existed in the old days (1634-1773), when the nearest juridic power was the English Provincial across the sea. It was indeed a novel situation—one to which the veterans in the restored Society were unaccustomed; but even under an easy-going and rather inactive leader like Molyneux, the restored Society soon took up its old Rule and religious life. There was bound to be friction over the transfer of the ex-Jesuit properties, but during the episcopate of Carroll and Neale, no serious variance of opinion caused any dissension to arise. In fact, as we read in Carroll's letter to Stone (August, 1803), the two bishops had seriously considered whether they should not resign their sees (Baltimore and Gortyna) and resume their former state in the Society. They were held back, fortunately, by the realization that the diocese might be entrusted to one who was opposed to the general restoration of the Society of Jesus. No one realized more profoundly than Carroll the great boon to religion the Society would be. His old fears, however, crowded around him, for it was one thing to have the Society restored, and quite another to have its membership made up of vigorous, able and learned men.⁵⁰ Only three of the former members had resumed their status at this time—Molyneux, Charles Sewall, and Charles Neale. Bishop Carroll liked Molyneux; he had lived with Sewall at St. Peter's Pro-

with Father William McSherry as first Provincial. These dates are taken from a letter to B. U. Campbell by Father George Fenwick, dated October 12, 1855, in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Special C, D-8*. The ratification of Molyneux's appointment by Brzozowski is in an official letter to Carroll from the Father General, dated February 22, 1806. (*Ibid.*, Case 2-C2.)

⁵⁰ The Father-General wrote to Carroll, on June 9, 1836 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-C3), telling him he need not be troubled over Propaganda's attitude towards the American restoration—"de internis Praetor non judicat!", he writes. Again, on August 9, 1807, Brzozowski wrote to Carroll about his great hopes for the American branch of the Society; the novices were to be placed in the care of the wisest of the new members, and the "doors were to be opened wide" to receive all who wished to join the Society (*Ibid.*, Case 2-C4). The opinion of Father Strickland on Propaganda's attitude is expressed in a letter to Carroll, dated London, December 16, 1808 (*Ibid.*, Case 8-C3)—"Propaganda is a public tribunal and could not accept the *vivae vocis oraculum*, but would have to have official documents of a legal value; moreover, if Propaganda recognized the Society, certain properties which the Sacred Congregation has confiscated, would have to be restored, particularly in the East."

Cathedral from 1786-1807; and he had experienced the peculiar bent of Charles Neale's character in several matters of importance, particularly in his influence over the Carmelite nuns at Port Tobacco. But he had no illusions about any of these men. Of Molyneux, he wrote to Plowden, at the time of the former's death (December 9, 1808):

About the beginning of last December, I advised you of the apprehension I was then under, of daily hearing of the death of our old, good, and much respected friend, Mr. Robt. Molyneux, which event took place at Georgetown on the 9th of that month, after his being prepared by a life of candor, virtue and innocence, and by all those helps, which are mercifully ordained for the comfort and advantage of departing Christians. Not only your charity, but your friendship for him, with whom you passed so many cheerful and happy days of your life, will induce you to recommend very often his soul to the Father of mercies. He was my oldest friend, after my relation and companion to St. Omers in my childhood, Mr. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who remains among us. As he often and feelingly reminded me the first time I saw him, in the month of September, there were very slender hopes of meeting more in this world. *R. I. P.* No successor in the presidency of the College is yet appointed. Previous to his death, in consequence of powers vested in him by the proper authority, he had appointed Mr. Chas. Neale to be the Superior of the body lately revived among us.⁸¹

Father John Bolton and Sylvester Boarman soon joined the revived community, and to aid the new Province, the Father-General Brzozowski, sent over some foreign Jesuits: Father Adam Britt, S. J.; John Henry, S. J.; Francis Malevé, S. J.; Anthony Kohlmann, S. J., and Peter Epinette, S. J.⁸² The danger of a conflict over property rights and transfer was avoided by an

⁸¹ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

⁸² Strickland to Carroll, London, August 16, 1806 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-D10). Fathers Britt, Henry and Malevé came out first, and were followed later by Fathers Kohlmann and Epinette. The six priests were admitted into the Select Body of the Clergy on September 1, 1807 (HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. 1, part ii, p. 871. This action was nullified by the Corporation on May 12, 1808, on the ground that the six priests were foreigners, and as such were not recognized as beneficiaries by the Maryland laws. It would be asking too much of the American ex-Jesuits to have been thoroughly in harmony with these new foreign members of the revived Society. Grassi, in his *Memorie*, tells us that many of those who joined the American Jesuits at this period (1805-1817) were former members of other religious Orders (pp. 33-37). These priests were immediately dispatched by Carroll to different parts of his Diocese. Father-General Brzozowski wrote to Carroll from Russia on August 18, 1808, congratulating him on the division of the Diocese of Baltimore and regretting that the troubled condition of Europe had prevented him from sending more Jesuits to the American group (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-C5).

agreement signed by Carroll and Molyneux (September 20, 1805) whereby under certain conditions the Society re-entered into possession of the old estates, some of which dated back to the time of the early Calverts. Bishop Carroll was to receive an annuity, allotted to him from the estates, which were to remain perpetual and inalienable.⁵³ This arrangement lasted until the time of Maréchal, when around it was centered for a time a notorious controversy, the last echoes of which do not seem yet to have died away.

The eminent Sulpician, Father Anthony Garnier, who had returned to France in 1803, with characteristic *bonhomie* wrote to Bishop Carroll about this time (January 17, 1806) :

Je vous fais bien sincèrement mon compliment de rétablissement de la très sainte et très utile Compagnie de Jésus dans votre diocèse. C'est elle qui la première a jeté le fondement de la foi dans vos contrées, c'est à elle qu'il appartient de l'établir et de le consolider. Puisse-t-elle se rétablir dans toute sa ferveur primitive! Puisse-t-elle produire de nouveaux François-Xaviers propres à la maintenir et à l'étendre dans l'immense diocèse que la divine Providence vous a confiée.⁵⁴

To prepare Francis Xaviers—men of learning, of erudition even, who would obey in the simplicity of their sanctity the voice of the Superior who should send them out to convert the world in the name of Christ—required the very thing Bishop Carroll feared could not then be given, namely, that special training in the novitiate in which the true follower of St. Ignatius Loyola is formed to the Founder's spirit and ideal. The condition of the little band who had set their hands to the task of bringing life back to the Society was a lame and crippled one, and the commencement of the business,—to use Charles Sewall's phrase—was "perfectly awkward." A novitiate was opened at Georgetown with Father Charles Neale as novice-master, and Carroll accounts in his letter of April 2, 1806, to Strickland, for eleven novices, scholastics, and lay coadjutors. Amongst the novices and scholastics there were some young men of brilliant talents. When

⁵³ These articles of agreement will be found in HUGHES, *l. c.*, pp. 929-930. The two parties agreed that the properties had now been vested in the restored Society, that Carroll's annuity as Superior, that is, as Bishop, would continue, and that the said annuity should be attached in perpetuity to the See of Baltimore.

⁵⁴ *Georgetown College Archives, Shea Collection*, printed in HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 822 note.

Father Molyneux, the first Superior, was dying (December 8, 1808) he named Charles Neale as Superior and Father-General Brzozowski⁵⁵ confirmed this appointment, making him Superior on September 13, 1809. If we are to accept the word of Father John Grassi, whose *Memoir* on the restored Society of Jesus in the United States (1810-1817) is one of the literary sources for this period, there never had been a strong bond of affection between Bishop Carroll and Charles Neale, and considerable friction seems to have arisen between them (1808) owing to the Jesuit Superior's action in removing at will the priests who belonged to his community. Strictly speaking, if the Society in the United States had been given full canonical existence in 1806, as it was in 1814, Father Neale was within his rights in using his subjects to what he considered the best advantage. But during those eight years of its private (*foro interno*) reestablishment, Archbishop Carroll could not help taking offense at actions which objectively at least were a derogation of his episcopal jurisdiction. Apologies were made to the Metropolitan of Baltimore by Brzozowski, who also wrote a warning letter to Neale, and later relieved him of his post to make way for Father John Grassi, S. J., who had arrived in 1811. The point at issue was, however, something more important than mere personal dislike, which Carroll certainly had for Charles Neale. It was the regulation passed by the bishops in the Meeting of 1810 regarding priests who are members of secular or regular Congregations: namely, that once they have been entrusted to the care of souls in a specified locality, they ought not to be recalled against the will of the bishop. This was a protective measure highly necessary in the condition of the Church here, where priests were so few in number. It was Neale's imprudent use of his powers as Superior in removing Father Adam Britt, S. J., from Holy Trinity Church, Philadelphia, which finally aroused Carroll and caused him to write to the Father-General suggesting that some one else be appointed as Jesuit Superior in the United States.⁵⁶ Father Brzozowski's letter (November 20,

⁵⁵ Father-General Gruber died on April 7, 1805, according to Brzozowski—letter to Carroll, May 12, 1805 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case I-P3). Father-General Brzozowski's appointment is mentioned in a letter to Carroll from Strickland, November 4, 1805 (*Ibid.*, Case 8-D6), who added in a postscript: "How to pronounce his name, I know not!"

⁵⁶ The Britt-Carroll correspondence will be found in the *Baltimore Cathedral*

1811) relieving Neale and appointing Grassi, says that Father Kohlmann would have been given the post, but that he was needed in New York.

The most remarkable of the Jesuits sent from Europe by the General was Father Anthony Kohlmann, whose career in America and in Europe as a teacher and missionary places him above all who belonged to the American Province during his time here. Bishop Carroll quickly saw the brilliant qualities of Father Kohlmann and used him to bring peace to the factions in the churches of Baltimore and Philadelphia. When Bishop Concanen advised Archbishop Carroll of his inability to set out for America, Father Kohlmann was sent to New York as administrator and vicar-general during the interim, which lasted until Bishop Connolly's arrival in 1815.⁸⁷ Here in 1808-09 he began a classical school, called the New York Literary Institute, on the present site of St. Patrick's Cathedral. His stay in New York is equally remarkable for the famous decision in a confessional case, to the effect that confessions of penitents were inviolable and could not be revealed in court.⁸⁸ In 1815, Father Kohlmann returned to Georgetown and became master of novices. Two years later he was appointed Superior, and in 1824, when the Gregorian University was reopened in Rome, he was recalled to take the chair of dogmatic theology. One of his pupils was Joachim Pecci, later Leo XIII. He died in Rome on April 11, 1836.

The imprisonment of Pope Pius VII and the partial disorganization of business routine at Rome, together with the blockade of European ports and the War of 1812 between England and the United States, caused an almost complete stoppage of letters at this time; in a way, this was not an evil to the Church in America, or to the restored Society. The leaders, the priests and the laymen who were officials in church temporalities, were thus thrown upon their own resources, and were forced to fight their way

Archives, Case 2-A1-18. Carroll's letters to the Father-General on Neale's acts are in the same *Archives*, Case 2-C7 (September 11, 1808), Case 2-C9 (October 18, 1812).

⁸⁷ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-C7.

⁸⁸ SAMPSON, *The Catholic Question in America* (New York, 1813), contains in an appendix the report of this first legal tilt over the seal of the confessional. The book aroused considerable controversy, to which Kohlmann replied in 1821, with his *Unitarianism, Theologically and Philosophically Considered*. Cf. FINOTTI, *Bibliographia Catholica Americana*, pp. 232-234. Boston, 1872; *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, vol. ii, July, 1846.

through difficulties which outside advice or guidance might only have made more complicated and, perhaps, insoluble.

The College of Georgetown which had passed over to the Society of Jesus, at its partial restoration here, began to flourish under Father John Grassi's rectorship (1811-1817). Carroll writes to Plowden, on December 12, 1813: "Mr. Grassi has revived the College of G. Town which has received great improvement in the number of students, and course of studies. His predecessor (Father Francis Neale, S. J.) with the same good intentions had no ability for his station, and was nominated by a strange combination. There are, I think, nine or ten novices under a Fr. Beschter of Flanders, a very holy man, but one, in whom the want of a regular education in the Society is very discernible."⁵⁹ The novitiate was removed from Georgetown to St. Inigoes, in 1812. The danger of British invasion and other reasons led the Fathers to prepare the house at Whitmarsh for the novices.⁶⁰ The Whitmarsh plantation had been placed under the care of Father Germain Bitouzey, in 1801. Father Bitouzey soon acquired considerable influence in the Corporation of the Clergy, being elected one of the Trustees (1802). He had little love for the leaders of the American Jesuits, whom he contemptuously referred to as "the Russians," and the Society found it difficult to induce him to give up the Whitmarsh plantation. Bitouzey's letters are filled with indignation against the restored Society and he refused to yield possession of Whitmarsh on the score that the Society had not been reestablished in the United States.⁶¹ Bishop Carroll realized the unpleasant effect not only of Bitouzey's attitude, but of Grassi's insistence upon the Society's rights over the old Jesuit houses. He writes on October 16, 1813:

Let me beseech you to recommend to the members of the Society to follow the instructions of the Very Rev. Father-General, and convince themselves that they have not, and cannot have yet, any corporate right in the ecclesiastical property of this country. I see, methinks, a cloud gathering and raised up by some anti-Jesuitical clergymen of different

⁵⁹ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

⁶⁰ Cf. HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part i, pp. 366-368, part ii, pp. 839-842.

⁶¹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case I-R5-9. For Grassi's comments on the foreign Jesuits (*Memorie sulla Compagnia di Gesù, ristabilita negli Stati Uniti dell'America Settentrionale*, pp. 24-37), see HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 866, note 144.

nations among us, which threatens much trouble, if they can raise it; but their enmity would give me little alarm, if it were not vitiated more and more by the presumptuous language and premature pretensions of some of your subjects.⁶²

A week later, Carroll again warned Grassi (October 25, 1813) that his impetuous desire for the immediate management of the old Jesuit temporalities would kindle a flame of resentment against the Society; and he warns the Jesuit Superior to proceed with the utmost legal caution.⁶³ Father Bitouzey resigned (October 26, 1813), and the novices finally reached Whitemarsh after staying for a period at Georgetown and at Frederick (1812-1814).

Archbishop Carroll's letter of January 31, 1814, to Father Stone, the English Superior is of the highest importance for the proper appraisal of the relations between the See of Baltimore and the Jesuits down to Carroll's death, in 1815:

Rev. and respected Sir,

At the time of receiving the last letter from my Venerable friend, Mr. Strickland, began by him, and in consequence of his illness finished by you, hostilities broke out between our two countries, and rendered the conveyance of letters so uncertain, that I did not presume to answer you on the interesting subject, on which you did me the honour to ask my opinion. Before touching on it at present I must first express my real uneasiness at not hearing more concerning our common highly valued friend, tho within the last three last months Mr. Grassi had had letters from Stonyhurst, and I likewise from both Messrs. Charles and Robt. Plowden. All of these contain a mortuary list of our Brethren, but nothing of Mr. Strickland, which encourages me to hope, not only that he lives, but likewise so as to enjoy comfort, to continue, to a certain degree, his accustomed usefulness.

On the subject, about which you were pleased to advise with me, I presume, that our friends in England are precisely in the same state, as we are here; that is, that nothing has been done for annulling and repealing the destroying Brief of Clement 14th. with equal authority, publicity and authenticity; as was given to that Pontiff's act, which had its full execution in all countries where it was published. Even the members of the Society, namely those at Liège, in Flanders, in England and here entered their free, tho certainly reluctant submission to it. Reviewing the severe injunctions contained in the Brief, the censures on the Ordinaires, who allow, and the individuals who attempt its violation, it seems to me, that without a derogation from it by an act of equal author-

⁶² HUGHES, *l. c.*, part i, p. 367.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 368.

ity, and quite as authentic; those, who with you and us, bind themselves by vow to live under the obedience of the Genl. in Russia, or to conform to the rules of the Society, will nor can be a religious body, or enjoy the privileges of such. Their sacrifice is highly meritorious before God, but in the face of the Church, those, who enter into Orders, and those who are already in them, must be subject to the general discipline as to their title for ordination, and be, as secular priests under the authority of the Bishops. This has been declared by Fr. Czerniewicz, in his letter to Mr. Jn. Howard at Liège, Fr. Gruber and the present Genl., in their communications to me, copy of which would now be forwarded, if I were not confident that you have received such already. Tho these restraints diminish much the usefulness of our Dear Brethren, and may discourage some from making the sacrifice mentioned above, yet it is a misfortune, to which submission is due, as long as it pleases God to keep us under it, which I trust will not be long.

This matter has often engaged my very serious attention, and caused me to refer to the authorities of the ablest Divines, from whom many extracts were occasionally made to aid my judgment. I have sometimes hoped, that these researches would lead to a different conclusion, but I am sorry to say that they all ended in confirming the opinion already expressed. Wherever the Brief was executed, the Society was extinguished; and to revive it, the same authority was requisite, as for the creation and approbation of a new Order. In Russian Poland, the Brief was not executed by the competent authority. But where fresh authority has not been authentically exercised, I cannot reconcile with the doctrine of our Divines, how the difference between simple and solemn vows, can be established; how any who embrace the Society here or in England can be *Professi quattuor votorum*; and consequently, how the Society can exist, unless there be professed Frs. What must then be the meaning of that part of the first vows, *promitto eandem Societatem me ingressurum* etc? With these impressions on my mind and the recollection of the solemn orders of his Holiness contained in the Briefs for my Consecration, the erection of this, and other Episcopal Sees in the United States, my obligation to be subject to the commands of Congn de Propgda fide etc. I never could persuade myself to admit that our young men, who associate themselves to the Society, can be admitted to Orders, *titulo religionis*: they are ordained *titulo missionis* under the authority of the Ordinary—As long as I and my Coadjutor, Bishop Neale continue alive, there will be little or no inconvenience; for we shall always act in harmony with the Superior of the Society; but in England I am sensible that this must be a disagreeable situation.⁶⁴

During Father Grassi's rectorship the college was raised by an Act of Congress to the rank of a university (March 1, 1815), and from his day down to the present, it has never lost its place

⁶⁴ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

of eminence in the educational life of the United States. Father Grassi returned to Rome in 1817, succeeding to high posts in the Society, among which was the rectorship of the Collegio Urbano. He died at Rome, December 12, 1849.

On December 7, 1814, Archbishop Carroll had the happiness of receiving a copy of the Bull *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum* (August 7, 1814) which restored in full canonical form the Society of Jesus throughout the world. That night he dispatched it to Father Grassi, at Georgetown. *Laudemus Deum et exultemus in eo*, Carroll wrote to Grassi on December 10-11, 1814.⁶⁶ It was the end of all of his fears that the partial reestablishment in Russia, the Two Sicilies, England and America would not last, and in a pardonable burst of enthusiasm he proposed to the Jesuit superior the rather impractical suggestion of a meeting between the ordinaries of the United States and the head of the Society of Jesus here. He proposed also to publish a Pastoral to the Catholics of the United States, calling to their attention the profound meaning of the memorable event. Many eloquent pages of jubilation were written by the members of the Society during these last weeks of the old year 1814. Dr. Carroll's letter to Father Plowden on receiving an authentic copy (January 5, 1815) of the *Sollicitudo* reflects the joy felt in the United States at the news of the Restoration:

My dear and respected Sir,

Your most precious and grateful favour of Octr. 8th accompanied by a copy of the bull of restoration was received early in Decr., and diffused the greatest sensation of joy and thanksgiving not only amongst the surviving and new members of the Society, but also all good Christians, who have any remembrance of their services, or heard of the unjust and cruel treatment, and have witnessed the consequences of their suppression; but your letter of Sepr. 27, to which you refer, has not been received, nor any other copy of the bull, nor a scrip of paper from Rome, since the Pope's delivery, tho I have written by various ways, and the last time, inclosed my letters to the Nuncio at Paris. You, who know Rome, may conceive my sensations, when I read the account transmitted in your most pleasing letter, of the celebration and mass by his Holiness himself at the superb altar of St. Ign. at the Gesù; the assemblage of the

⁶⁶ Cf. HUGHES, *l. c.*, pp. 846-847. There is a contemporary account (by Maréchal?) of the condition of the Society in the United States, in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Letter-Books*, vol. 1, p. 105. See Fenwick's letter to Grassi in CAMPBELL, *The Jesuits*, p. 705.

surviving Jesuits in the Chapel to hear the proclamation of their resurrection; the decree for the restitution of the residence in life and the scene of the death of their Patriarch of the Novitiate of S. Andrew, its most enchanting church, and the lovely monument and chapel of S. Stanislaus, which I fondly hope have escaped the fangs of rapine and devastation. Is there no hope, that these acts of justice and religion will be followed by the restoration likewise of the Roman College, the magnificent Church of S. Ignatius, and the wonderful monument of S. Aloysius? If as I believe, these were appropriated not to private uses, but became the public University of the City and Diocese of Rome, they will be restored to their former owners with less difficulty. But how many years must pass before these houses will be repeopled by such men as we have known and whom sanctity of manner, zeal for the divine glory, science, eloquence and talents of every kind rendered worthy of being the instruments of divine providence to illustrate his church, maintain its faith, and instruct all ranks of human society in all the duties of their respective stations. When I consider the length of preparation required to renew this race of men, my apprehensions is, that the friends of the Society will be too precipitate, too hasty in expecting benefits from it, before its pupils will be mature enough to produce them. I was sorry to notice, that you apprehend opposition in England to its existence there and of course in Ireland, notwithstanding the favorable disposition of the Irish Bishops. This commendation of them and particularly of the M. Rev. Abp. of Dublin was the more agreeable to me because [*line and a half erased*] I always esteemed and thought him a real friend of the Society. Here I do not yet discover any sensation of hostility in our general, or any of the state governments. Little is said in the public papers of the event of the re-establishment. In consequence of the law, which was obtained above twenty years ago and had become necessary for securing our old estates to the purposes of religion, it will be our duty to observe the forms of the law, to subsist and quietly let the property pass into the hands of Trustees, who will all be members of the Society. Their vows and principles will direct them how, and by whom the estates must be administered for the services of the country and religion.

You express a wish that all the old members should now return to the embraces of their beloved mother. Of these mentioned by you the good Mr. Pile has been dead nearly two years ago. I much doubt whether Mr. Ashton, whom I have not seen for several years, will be disposed to do so, or whether Mr. Grassi wishes it. Concerning Bp. Neale and myself, it seems to us that till more is known of the mind of our rulers, it might not be for the interests of our Brethren, even if his Holiness would allow us to vacate our Sees, to expose our concerns to Successors, unfriendly perhaps or liable to be exposed only to malicious misrepresentations. But this matter however has not yet received my full consideration. If you should learn thereafter that difficulties have arisen concerning the Society in this country, you may be assured that the open or surest authors of the opposition are certain foreign Ecclesiastics (not

one of whom is of the respectable body, the Sulpicians) who after a hospitable reception and ample participation of the prospect of our estates, proportioned to their services, took offense at every arrangement, preparatory to the now contemplated restitution of the property. Some of those persons would at once sell and divide it amongst the officiating clergy.⁶⁶

Father Grassi unfortunately blundered at this juncture. In his excitement he allowed himself to be the spokesman for those who had been complaining for years of Carroll's attitude towards the restoration, and the result was an outspoken and indignant vindication of Carroll's policy from 1784 to 1814:

For my theology forbade me to allow, that pretended, or even acknowledged *vivæ vocis oracula* were sufficient authority to set aside the public, solemn acts of Pontifical jurisdiction, wherever they had been proclaimed, admitted, and long submitted to. I therefore could not, as long as there was no public instrument from His Holiness, allowing the bishops to ordain *titulo paupertatis religiosae*, admit on that ground to Holy Orders those, who had associated themselves with the Society in Russia. Till such an instrument was issued, I think that the English VV. AA [*Vicars-Apostolic*], as well as the bishops in Ireland, were quite correct in refusing to ordain the pupils of Stonyhurst and Hodder House *Titulo paup. &c.* whatever my friend Mr. [Charles] Plowden may say, who on this point would not be supported by his Br [brother] Robert, the more solid divine of the two. Besides the matter of ordination, there were other points, on which my judgment was nowise satisfied, concerning those who became associated in this country to your brethren in Russia. In *foro externo*, as the General himself declared, they were not a religious body, they had no common interest, and they were not united in community, [*but*] only by the bonds of charity, being in the eye of ecclesiastical government no other than secular clergy; in a word, I saw nothing but contradiction between the established discipline of the Church, and the pretensions of Mr. Charles Neale, late Superior, some of his adherents and likewise those, which are sometimes asserted by Messrs. Beschter, Malevé, Malou, &c; but from which I can truly acquit you; though you have latterly discovered an impatience to be released from such restraints as were introduced through necessity, and cannot be removed otherwise than gradually, without irritating certain passions.⁶⁷

No doubt Father Grassi, who had been strongly influenced by the Neales, resented the somewhat patronizing tone of Carroll's letter after the receipt of the *Sollicitudo*, but certainly the old and revered archbishop—he was then in his eightieth

⁶⁶ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

⁶⁷ Quoted by НУЖИНА, l. c., pp. 851-852.

year—might have been spared that attack upon his honour.⁸⁸ Father Kohlmann, as a foreigner, despite his great learning, would naturally take Grassi's side against the Americans. The incident might be allowed to pass unnoticed, but it has its place in the general scheme of ecclesiastical life at that day in the United States—domination by aliens. Archbishop Carroll could not bear anyone ill-will, and so it is not surprising to find no mention of Grassi's insinuations in his letters to Plowden around this time. He went on also with his project of issuing a Pastoral "to the congregations of my diocese on the subject of the restoration of the Society," but he was being hindered, as he wrote to Grassi, on March 16, 1815, not "through forgetfulness or indifference but truly and really for the want of time. There are now but few hours of the day during which my mind is fit for any serious application; and so many urgent affairs have the first claim on those hours that you must have a little patience, as my desire is to make the address not absolutely unworthy of the occasion."⁸⁹

It is evident that death alone saved Carroll from the misery of an open break with the Jesuit Superior; and while it was with no intimation of its dread approach, we can catch a glimpse of the man's soul in conflict with these annoyances which robbed his last days of comfort. In one of his last letters to Plowden, dated June 25, 1815, he says:

My dear and respected friend,

My last was about one month ago; it informed you of many of your letters having been received, notwithstanding the impediments which for some years embarrassed our correspondence; tho, I regret the mis-carriage of others to which you refer. When I wrote, there was a pleasing expectation of a long and universal peace; but the late advices from France threaten to overwhelm again the world in trouble. For my own part, it shall be my endeavour, tho' I fear for my constancy, to keep my soul,

⁸⁸ Father Thomas Hughes interprets Bishop Carroll's attitude towards the revival of the Society as a consequence of his sympathy with Plowden. "This would indicate," Hughes writes, "that Carroll was as far out of touch with the whole body of English Jesuits as the Neale party considered he was out of sympathy with the American Jesuits." This view fails to give a proper recognition between Carroll's attitude before he became the appointed leader of the American Church and afterwards. As Superior and as Bishop it was his duty to avoid any suspicion that his actions were not in full accord with Propaganda's expressed decisions on this point.

⁸⁹ HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 853.

as clear as I can, from those tumultuous sollicitudes which have agitated it so much for the losses and success of contending nations. Such degrading immorality, and such base treachery have blackened the histories of some of them, that an old man, especially, sees the benefit of restraining all partialities and placing his entire reliance of the wisdom and providence of God.

Yet there is one point, on which I feel, and in some degree cherish sollicitude, it is for the effect, which the irruption of Bonaparte into France, and consequent events may have on the progress of the newly restored Society. Your friend, Mr. Grassi, is doing his best for it here, but it seems to me, that he consults chiefly, if not exclusively, foreigners, that is, his Brethren from Russia, Germany, Flanders, &c. all of them good religious men, but not one of them possessing an expanded mind, discerning enough to estimate difference between the American character, and that of the Countries which they left. Tho' I have noticed yet much of this partiality in himself, yet I apprehend that dissatisfaction, complaint and perhaps remonstrance will arise against certain acts of his administration. I shall advise, even in matters of the interior government of the Society whenever I can be useful, but if what has been noticed and reported hitherto is not mis-stated or misunderstood there is great reason that he will undesignedly beget a jealousy on the part of the Secular Clergy in this Diocese and perhaps other Orders, against the Society, an evil, which I most earnestly deprecate and against which our old Brethren, who saved property here after dissolution, so peculiarly guarded.⁷⁰

Father Grassi needed the letter referred to, which Archbishop Carroll wrote to him on February 21, 1815, and in which the venerable old man, wearied with the petty attacks upon his policies during the Interim, strikes back with all the vigour of his earlier days:

. . . I must do myself the justice to say that, if ever any measures were taken to organize a system for the preservation of the property, which formerly did, and now again does, belong to the Society; to prevent it from being liable to waste and individual usurpation; if the College over which you preside obtained existence and legal capacity to acquire property and receive donations; if the very spot on which it stands, as well as the church, is now vested in the representatives of the College these were originally my acts alone; they were performed without the small [*est*] expense to those who have since enjoyed the property; my journeys year after year, my attendance on the general assemblies, my solicitations, my care and watchfulness over the wording of the different acts of the Legislature, which were necessary to erect corporations for the clergy and the College, so that they might not be a bar against the Society in case of its revival; these were done by me alone, tho I was very much

⁷⁰ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

opposed by those, who have since enjoyed the possession and administration of all which was acquired by them. The proofs of their opposition are still in my possession, and every one knows how they have profited by my exertions, labours and expense. I think therefore that, contrary to my usual custom, I may claim to be, in an humble degree, *de Societate bene meritus*, as having protected those interests, which may by a prudent administration aid the progress of the body so miraculously restored. To which it may be added that, whilst all others were remaining with folded arms, without moving a step to prepare the way for a return of the Society, I alone opened and continued the correspondence with the General in Russia, and with his concurrence gave all that existence to it, which it could receive without a full and authentic repeal of the destructive brief of Clement XIV. I am ashamed for having said so much of myself, which nothing should have extorted from me but the undeserved insinuations of my unfriendliness for not adopting the suggestions of a zeal, which appeared to me so precipitate as to endanger the harmony of our fellow-labourers, to hurt the interests of the Society, and to embarrass my conscience as long as the Ganganellian brief remained unrepealed.⁷¹

Archbishop Carroll did not, however, allow Grassi's suspicions to change his admiration for the learned Italian Jesuit, who was Superior of the Society in the United States. But they undoubtedly differed on the property question which was Carroll's legacy to Archbishops Neale and Maréchal, and one fortunately that Dr. Carroll was never called upon to settle definitively. After his death, the Grassi-Kohlmann view of the old Jesuit Estates began to prevail among the members of the restored Society and for many years clouded the good name of all who shared in the controversy. But this cloud soon passed, and the reëstablished Society in its complete canonical form—the only restoration that Dr. Carroll would consider sympathetically—began its great work of education in the Church here.⁷² All the difficulties and mis-

⁷¹ HUGHES, *l. c.*, part i, p. 375.

⁷² Even the apostate Jesuit Wharton rejoiced in the restoration of the Society. In one of Father George Fenwick's letters to B. U. Campbell (April 26, 1844), there is a quotation from Wharton's correspondence, dated February 14, 1816, saying: "You ask my opinion respecting the restoration of the Order of Jesuits. I think it a great stroke of policy if not of justice in the Roman Pontiff. They were certainly the most enlightened and zealous champions of his authority. But what is much more to their credit, they formed unquestionably the most learned and exemplary Body of Clergy in the Roman Church. They had the *esprit de corps* to a high degree; but in other respects a more disinterested and virtuous community never existed. This is my testimony concerning them, and I know it is true." (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Special C, D3.*)

understandings of the Interim (1773-1806), of the Revival (1806-1814), and afterwards, appear negligible in the light of the Society's glorious conquest for Christ during the century which has intervened since that time.

CHAPTER XXIX
THE DIVISION OF THE DIOCESE OF BALTIMORE
(1808)

Bishop John Carroll ruled over a diocese greater, probably, in extent than any European see of the time. At his accession in 1790, the limits of his vast diocese were uncertain, although it was understood by all that his jurisdiction was coterminous with the new Republic. No official act of the Holy See, however, had decided whether the missions in upper Maine and New York, and in the Northwest Territory (1787)—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota—were under the direction of Quebec or of Baltimore. In a similar way, the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba still claimed canonical jurisdiction over the territory around Natchez, Baton Rouge and other places within the area disputed by Spain and the United States. In other words, the tenor of Dr. Carroll's appointment did not state whether jurisdiction comprised the Thirteen Original States or the whole territory claimed by the United States. The two geographical expressions—Thirteen Original States and United States of America—are used in the Bull erecting the See of Baltimore as if they were synonymous. The question was referred to the Holy See for decision and on January 13, 1791, the Congregation of Propaganda Fide set the matter at rest by placing the whole territory of the United States under Dr. Carroll's jurisdiction. England, however, still claimed the city of Detroit and a large part of Michigan and Ohio; and Spain considered the Natchez territory as part of her American dominions. When these territories were later relinquished by England and Spain, Dr. Carroll's jurisdiction automatically extended over them.

No one realized more keenly than Bishop Carroll the difficulties he would have in ruling this great territory.¹ At the

¹ That Bishop Carroll had proposed the nomination of an auxiliary for the Diocese of Baltimore, before his departure in 1790 for Lulworth, is evident from one of Father

Synod of 1791, he expressed a wish to see his labours divided with a younger man, and all the priests present gave their consent to the appointment of a coadjutor. Apart from the necessity of having some one to share his labours, Dr. Carroll saw also the wisdom of having a coadjutor-bishop who would be able to assume episcopal authority immediately in case of his death. The delay in writing to Rome and in receiving replies from Propaganda were well known to them all. The proceedings of the Synod were sent to Rome in due time, and in the spring of the following year (April 23, 1792), Bishop Carroll penned his detailed *Report* on the condition of the Church in the Diocese of Baltimore. As previously stated, Bishop Carroll wrote that he had spoken to the priests present about the advisability of requesting either the creation of a new diocese or the appointment of a coadjutor: "If anything should happen to me, my successor could be sent to Europe for consecration, only at great expense. Several with whom I consulted on the matter, feel that the Holy See should be petitioned to create a new diocese here. For although neither the number of the priests nor of the laity is so great that they could be not taken care of properly by one bishop if they all lived within easy reach, nevertheless, on account of the great distance which separates them from the bishop and from one another, it is impossible for them to know their priests or to be known by them."² For this and for other reasons, as we have already seen, Bishop Carroll asked that a second episcopal see be erected, either in Philadelphia or New York, with the Susquehanna River as a boundary line between the two dioceses. Of the two cities, he preferred Philadelphia, because the Catholic life there was more vigorous and there were more churches.

He writes to Plowden at this time:

I have written to Rome, recommending and requesting the erection of another diocese in the United States: this, I hope, will be granted; if not, I press for the grant of a coadjutor. To avoid giving offence to our own government, it is proposed to the Propaganda to allow the ten oldest

Thorpe's letters, dated Rome, August 28, 1790, in which he advised Carroll not to press his petition until after his return to Baltimore. (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-K9.)

² *Propaganda Archives, Atti* (1792) ff. 142-155, no. 13, received before August 13, 1792.

clergymen here, and five others to be nominated by myself, to be the electors of the new bishop, ordinary or coadjutor. But in my solicitude to provide for a close and intimate union with the Holy See, I desire that if the grant be made agreeably to request, it may be under the express condition of reserving a right in the Holy See, to reject the person elected, as long as one be not elected perfectly agreeable to it. I am, I own, principally solicitous to form establishments which will be lasting. To pass through a village, where a Roman Catholic clergyman was never seen before; to borrow of the parson the use of his meetinghouse or church, in order to preach a sermon; to go or send about the village, giving notice at every house, that a priest is to preach at a certain house, and there to enlarge on the doctrines of our Church; this is a mode adopted by some amongst us for the propagation of religion. But I would rather see a priest fixed for a continuance in the same place, with a growing congregation under him, than twenty such itinerant preachers. The only effect which I have seen from these, is to make people gaze for a time, and say that the preacher is a good or a bad one; but as soon as he is gone on his way, to think no more about him.^a

When this report was taken up formally by the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, on August 13, 1792, it was decided that in place of a second see at Philadelphia or New York, the American clergy would be permitted to propose the name of a worthy priest who would be appointed by the Holy See as coadjutor to Bishop Carroll. On September 29, 1792, Cardinal Antonelli wrote a lengthy letter to Bishop Carroll advising him of Propaganda's decision. Carroll's letter of April 23, made a profound impression upon the Propaganda officials, who were particularly delighted with the news about St. Mary's Seminary and Georgetown College. Nothing would give the Holy See greater pleasure, Antonelli wrote, than to accede to the desire of Dr. Carroll and his clergy in the question of dividing the episcopal labours with an auxiliary bishop. But the sentiment prevailed at Rome that it would be more prudent to name a coadjutor than to create a second episcopal see, since church unity would be thus better preserved. Moreover, the privilege (*pro hac vice tantum*) granted in his own election, could hardly be permitted a second time by the Holy See, even though, as Carroll had pointed out, a direct appointment by Rome might be interpreted by the enemies of the Church in the Republic as violating the spirit of the Constitution. Antonelli urged Carroll

^a Cited by BRENT, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-155.

to consult with the older priests of his diocese and to suggest the name of a worthy candidate for the coadjutorship.

Dr. Carroll's personal choice was one of the most lovable characters in the American priesthood of that day—Father Laurence Graessl of Philadelphia. Laurence Graessl was born in Bavaria on August 18, 1753. After completing his collegiate studies, he entered the Society of Jesus, and was in the Jesuit novitiate at Munich when the decree of Suppression was issued in 1773. He became a secular priest and was serving in one of the churches in Munich when Father Farmer's appeal from Philadelphia reached him. On August 1, 1786, he wrote to his parents from Munich, telling them that he had decided to leave for the Pennsylvania missions where there were many German Catholics. There is extant a letter from his pen, dated London, August 3, 1787, in which he tells his parents that after a delay of eight weeks in London, he was about to set sail for America. The journey across the Channel from Ostend to Dover occupied 36 hours, and the high cost of living in London has almost depleted his little treasury. "I go to Philadelphia, he writes, "the largest city in America . . . Pray for me that I may land safely in America. I resign myself entirely to the Holy will of God. Should I be swallowed by the waves or be made a slave in Africa by the pirates, I shall always remember the litany we used to say every week at home: Thy holy will be done, O God!" Father Graessl arrived in Philadelphia in October, 1787. A year later (December 9, 1788) he wrote from Philadelphia to his parents that he had spent a busy twelve months in the Pennsylvania and New Jersey missions, and had heard many confessions in German, English, French, Italian, Dutch, and Spanish. He had been inoculated in January, 1788, against the smallpox which was then prevalent. The presentiment of death never seems to have deserted him. "Should it be God's will," he writes, "that I die in America and should not see you in this world any more, let us console ourselves with the sweet hope that the separation will not last long, that the heavenly Father will soon unite us, and that forever."⁴

In May, 1793, the election of the first American coadjutor

⁴ Cf. *Researches*, vol. xxi, pp. 49-58.

took place, and Father Graessl was chosen by his fellow-priests to be Carroll's coadjutor.⁵ On June 19, 1793, he wrote for the last time to his parents, from Philadelphia, giving them the news of his election: "There is but one bishop in this extensive country. Should he die, another of the clergy would have to travel to Europe to receive episcopal consecration. Therefore, the Pope gave permission to select a coadjutor-bishop who should succeed our worthy bishop. The election took place in the beginning of May, and, dearest parents, the choice fell upon your poor Laurence . . . Nothing was more disquieting to me than this news; but God has heard my prayers. He wants to deliver me, unworthy as I am, from this heavy burden to make room for one worthier than I." In this, his last letter, he tells his parents that the yellow fever had caught him in its fearsome toils: "Dearest friends, I am sick and according to human understanding my days are counted. Probably before you read this, my body will rest in the grave, but let the splendid view of eternity be our consolation. There, I hope to God, we shall see each other again and never be separated any more."⁶

In the spring and early summer of 1793, Philadelphia became a haven of refuge for a large number of fugitives who fled from the West Indies when the French Revolution reached those islands. Most of them had come from places where the yellow fever was raging, and without doubt the plague was brought by them to Philadelphia. The plague was as mysterious in its attack as the influenza epidemic of 1918, and Dr. Rush, then the foremost physician of the city, frankly admitted that only experience of a sad nature with his patients had taught him how to cope with the malady. "So dreadful was the disease, so revolting and rapid in its progress, and so generally fatal in its results, that a panic of fear seized the city. All who could do so fled from the contagion, and it is estimated that of the fifty thousand inhabitants about twenty-three thousand left the city."⁷ Physicians and clergymen of all denominations proved their heroism during the horrors of the plague. During the five or six weeks of its progress, ten of the leading physicians gave up

⁵ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Letter-Books*, vol. ii, pp. 92, 102.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *KIRLIN, Catholicity in Philadelphia*, p. 139.

their lives for the citizens of Philadelphia, and eight non-Catholic ministers of the Gospel died martyrs to their sense of duty. Of the three Catholic priests stationed at St. Mary's Church, not one escaped. Father Christopher Keating was at death's door for weeks, but recovered, while Father Graessl and Father Fleming both died before the epidemic had run its course.

Bishop-elect Laurence Graessl died in October, 1793, and was buried in St. Joseph's Churchyard.

Meanwhile, the letter of Bishop Carroll to Propaganda announcing the election of Father Graessl reached Rome, and was favourably acted upon by the Sacred Congregation. In an audience granted on December 8, 1793, two months after Father Graessl's death, Pius VI granted the request of the American clergy, and the dead priest was forthwith named Bishop of Samosata and coadjutor to Bishop Carroll of Baltimore. Bishop Carroll had written in October to Rome informing the Holy See of Father Graessl's demise, but it would appear that it was only through his letter of July 3, 1794, that Propaganda was made aware of the fact. For that reason Bishop-elect Graessl's appointment went through all the formalities of the pontifical chancery. On January 18, 1794, two letters were despatched from Rome, one to Bishop-elect Dominic Laurence Graessl, announcing his election and elevation to the purple, and one to Bishop Carroll in the same tenor, but containing a significant clause to the effect that should the Holy See deem it expedient to divide "so large a diocese, embracing as it does so many states, into several dioceses," it will be done, "even during your own lifetime and even should you unreasonably (*irrationabiliter*) be opposed to such a step."

To Bishop-elect Graessl, Propaganda wrote as follows (January 18, 1784):

The most worthy John Carroll, Bishop of Baltimore, having written to their Eminences the Cardinals of Propaganda and to His Holiness in the highest terms of praise of your piety and religious spirit, His Holiness has thereupon deigned to raise you to the episcopal dignity and to choose you as coadjutor of the aforesaid Bishop. From this you will perceive how earnestly and zealously and with what care and diligence you should labor in so extended a part of the Lord's vineyard as has been entrusted to your charge. For the rest His Holiness in the fulness of His Apostolic power reserves to Himself the right to determine hereafter whether it

be not more expedient to divide so large a diocese, embracing as it does so many states, into several dioceses, even should the present incumbent dissent. For the spiritual comfort and welfare of souls must be looked to, and should the Catholic Faith spread more widely and the harvest become more plentiful, the task of caring for it will be unequal not only for one Bishop but even for two. Their Eminences and His Holiness hope that imitating the virtues and most ardent zeal of your superior prelate for the Catholic Faith you will by your labours bring forth most abundant fruits to the gain of the Catholic Religion. From your superior prelate therefore you will receive the ordinary and extraordinary faculties that have been given to him by His Holiness for that purpose. In the meantime I pray God to increase in you His blessings and to protect you.

The letter to Carroll is addressed "Reverend Charles Carroll," and is of the same date:

We desire to inform you by these letters that in the one addressed to the Rev. Dominic Graessl, your coadjutor-elect, we have told him that the Supreme Pontiff reserves full liberty to himself, should the welfare of souls at any time demand it, of dividing your very extended diocese into other episcopal dioceses, even during your own lifetime and even should you unreasonably be opposed to such a step. For while the present condition of affairs does not warrant the erection of new sees, although you yourself have petitioned for them, and it seems to us more advisable by the appointment of a coadjutor to secure a unity of government and a unity of discipline, now especially in the beginning of your infant church, yet should the Catholic Religion, under the Divine blessing, spread further and the harvest of the Faithful prove more plentiful, it may be necessary for the Apostolic See to appoint more labourers and rulers (*praesides*) of souls in the several states with episcopal jurisdiction and character—(*jure et caractere*). Nor have we the slightest fear that either you or your coadjutor, well known as you both are for your piety and religious zeal, will ever oppose this projected dismembering of your diocese and the erection of new diocese whenever such a step seems proper to the Apostolic See. Still in order to guard against any occasion for complaints hereafter, we deem it enough at this fitting moment to inform both of you of the views and intentions of the Sovereign Pontiff in giving you a coadjutor, and we wish you now without any delay to bind him never to put himself in opposition to the erection of new sees.

The words, "never to put himself in opposition to the erection of new sees," must have had a curious sound to a prelate who had already twice urged the division of his diocese. They are, however, but the formal phrase contained in all such documents,

though there is every reason to suspect that the traditional routine of ecclesiastical procedure had not forgotten the exceptional request of the priests in 1788, that they be permitted to elect their own spiritual chief. Doubtless, another letter from Dr. Carroll, dated September 21, 1793, which was then under consideration by the officials of Propaganda added to their fear of novelty in the American Church. In the formula of the oath taken by the bishops at that time, there was the traditional phrase—"I will to the utmost of my power seek out and oppose schismatics, heretics, and the enemies of our Sovereign Lord and his successors." Such a clause might easily be misused by those who opposed the presence of the Church in the United States, and Dr. Carroll wisely asked for the suppression of these words. This was granted; and in a General Assembly of Propaganda, held on June 16, 1794, their Eminences permitted the future bishops of the United States to take the same oath as was taken by the bishops of Ireland. The summary contained in the *Atti* of 1795 states:

Now by the aforesaid letter of September 21, he [Rt. Rev. Bishop Carroll] acquaints your Eminence with the efforts made by many sectarians, who are led by a partisan and unfriendly spirit, to decry motives of attack and calumnies against the Apostolic See; he especially notes their inveighing against the form of oath required by the Roman Pontifical in the consecration of Bishops, principally because the words of the following clause, namely,—"*haereticos, schismaticos, et rebelles eidem Domino Nostro vel successoribus praedictis pro posse persequar, impugnabo, etc.*," moreover, their misinterpreting the real meaning of the aforesaid clause, by purposely trying to make it out as implying hostility to the form of government, as established in the aforesaid United States, where every one is allowed freely to possess whatever kind of religion he chooses.

Wherefore as Bishop Carroll is confident that large numbers of sectarians will be present at the consecration [of Bishop Graessl] to hear and misinterpret whatever they can, he petitions this Holy See for leave to omit the aforesaid clause in the oath required to be taken by his Bishop-coadjutor, so as to deprive the above sectarians of every chance of misrepresentation. (The copyist adds here that a marginal note in the original minutes states that "news have just reached us that the Rev. Dominic Lawrence Graessl, coadjutor, [has] passed away to eternal life.")⁸

⁸ The documents relating to the appointments of Graessl and Neale [*Propaganda Archives, Atti* (1795), ff. 8sa.], were translated by Dr. Middleton, O.S.A., and will be found in the *Researches*, vol. xxi, pp. 59-64.

In a general assembly held June 16, 1794, their Eminences decided that the petition should be answered as follows, namely: "That their Eminences grant the dispensation asked and order a copy of the letter sent to the Archbishops of Ireland, June 25, 1791, to be sent with the requested changes to the Bishop of Baltimore . . . In an Audience granted by His Holiness, July 10, 1794, the aforesaid mentioned decisions of the Sacred Congregation having been laid before Him, He has deigned to ratify them all, and has accordingly permitted the same form of oath, as was taken by the Bishops and Archbishops of Ireland, to be taken by the Bishop of Baltimore." A copy of this oath was sent on August 2, 1794.⁹

After the death of Bishop-elect Graessl, Father Leonard Neale was appointed pastor of St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia (December 21, 1793), and with the advice of the older members of the clergy, Bishop Carroll decided to send the name of Father Neale to Rome as a worthy successor to the honours which had fallen posthumously upon Bishop-elect Graessl. On October 18, 1794, Dr. Carroll wrote to Antonelli from Philadelphia, that the choice of the clergy had fallen upon a man truly pious, endowed with the highest prudence, humility and suavity of manners. and highly skilled in ecclesiastical learning and discipline. Bishop-elect Neale was about forty-four years old at the time. On April 17, 1795, the Bulls appointing Father Neale Bishop of Gortyna and coadjutor of Baltimore were issued and were sent by an unusual route, owing to the disturbed condition of France. Months passed by, and Bishop Carroll gave up all hope of receiving them. A set of duplicates which Dr. Carroll had asked for, met with the same fate, and it was not until the summer of 1800, that another set of duplicates, sent by Cardinal Stephen Borgia, reached Baltimore. On October 12, 1799, Carroll wrote to Antonelli expressing his great solicitude over the delay, since he feared grave inconvenience to the Church in the United States in case the Bulls of consecration did not arrive. He asked that copies be sent in care of Monsignor Charles Erskine, who was in London at the time. Bishop-elect Neale remained in Philadelphia until 1799 when Dr. Carroll named him President of George-

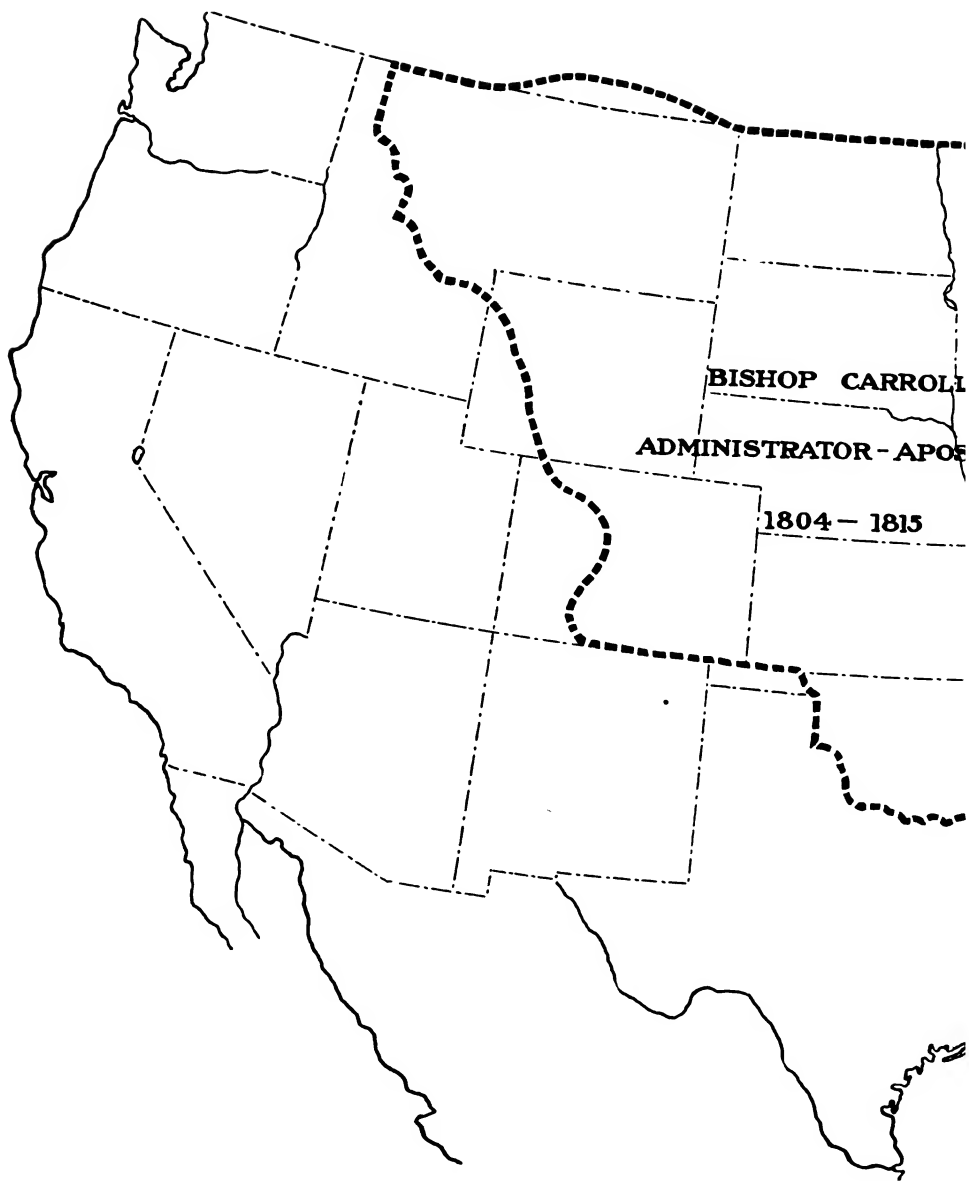
⁹ Cf. *Propaganda Archives, Scrittura riferita, American Centrale*, vol. iii, ff. 39-40.

town College. The feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, September 8, 1800, was set apart for the consecration of the new coadjutor-bishop, but the yellow fever again made its appearance, and Bishop Carroll was unwilling to call any of his clergy to Baltimore for the ceremony, lest the Catholics suffer during their absence. Finally, the feast of the Immaculate Conception (December 8) was appointed. On the day previous (December 7), for the first time within the borders of the United States, episcopal consecration was conferred on Bishop Neale. Father Nagot, President of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, and Father Beeston, then pastor of St. Peter's pro-Cathedral, acted as assistants in the ceremony. It had been the intention of Bishop Carroll that his coadjutor should reside in Philadelphia, so that the labours of the diocese might be divided; but Bishop Neale was needed at Georgetown College, where he continued to preside until the restored Society of Jesus assumed charge of the institution (1806).

In an account of the difficulties which had delayed Neale's consecration, Carroll says to Plowden (September 3, 1800):

The accumulation of letters, which I must absolutely answer, is prodigious: of many I must keep copies; and having no secretary or assistant, my labour is incessant, and indeed too much for my time of life, especially when united with my other episcopal duties. It is not therefore surprising, if some degree of self-indulgence gains upon me, when I can obtain a respite from my writing desk, and if I allow a part of it to reading, which, as you know, was always my favourite employment. I have now a prospect of diminishing my labour, and particularly my toilsome journies every spring and fall to different congregations. The brief of Pius 6th for the consecration of *rv.* Leonard Neale, which has been five years in its progress, has arrived at length, not even now the first copies of it, which were committed to *rv.* Connell, but duplicates sent in consequence of my repeated representations. His consecration was to have taken place at Baltimore on the 8th inst., but since my departure from home, the fatal yellow fever, that new pest of our country, has broken out there about the middle of August, and will rage till the first frost, which can hardly be expected before the last of October. On this account it is judged inexpedient to collect in that town so many priests, as will be necessary for the performance of the ceremony which will therefore be delayed for some time. The whole body of the clergy insist on my continuance in the country till I have provided a Successor to my See. I submit to their opinion, tho' I suffer perhaps much greater anxiety by my absence, than I would at home. We have lost already since 1793,

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the first epoch of that dreadful disorder in Philad., eight of our best clergymen; and in consequence of their death, many Congregations remain without pastors.¹⁰

Since Bishop Neale's activities were divided between Georgetown College and the founding of the Visitation Convent, Georgetown, he does not seem to have taken a very prominent share in the discipline of the Church during the five years of his coadjutorship. No doubt had he been consecrated in 1795, when he was first appointed, and while he was pastor of St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia, the scope of his coöperation with Bishop Carroll would have been a wider one and the administration of the Diocese of Baltimore might have proceeded on more practical lines. Practically speaking, Neale's coadjutorship was of little value to Bishop Carroll, except the satisfaction of knowing that ecclesiastical life and discipline would continue in case he should be incapacitated by old age or called to his reward by death.¹¹

For this reason, among others, only one relief seemed practicable—that of dividing the Diocese of Baltimore and of placing it under at least four extra bishops. John Carroll had borne the burden of the episcopate for ten years when his coadjutor, Leonard Neale, was consecrated, and he was to continue bearing that burden for another decade, before a division of his pressing labours was to take place. As we have already seen, it was the sentiment of the priests who gathered at Baltimore for the Synod that the vast Diocese of Baltimore should be divided and that Philadelphia be made a see for the Northern States. Baltimore would retain its chieftainship over the South—with its limits the Susquehanna River, and an imaginary line running to the westernmost settlements, thus dividing the work of church discipline and government. For a long time, Propaganda was convinced that the condition of the Church in the United States hardly war-

¹⁰ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

¹¹ From contemporary witnesses, it would seem that Dr. Neale was a disappointment as Carroll's coadjutor. James Barry's correspondence with Carroll speaks rather slightly of the new Bishop; in one letter (June 10, 1807), he says: "There is no danger of Neale setting the Potomac on fire" (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 1-K5). Father John Thayer, while at Stonyhurst in 1805, to quota Plowden's words: "Spoke of your coadjutor as a man of no abilities" (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 6-Q5). Cf. also *Historical Records and Studies*, vol. xv (1921), pp. 201-222.

ranted the extension of the hierarchy.¹² Unity of government and unity of discipline were first to be established, especially in the beginning of the infant Church, but the time might come when more bishops would be needed. The long delay (October 15, 1794—summer of 1800) caused by the loss of the several sets of duplicate Bulls only increased Carroll's anxiety over the situation of the Church in this country. "I foresee, indeed, a great inconvenience," he wrote on August 20, 1799, to Antonelli, "unless another copy of the Bulls be sent before my death and arrive quickly, so that I may impose hands on this most worthy priest." Added to this delay were the series of "stirs" caused by insubordinate priests in Philadelphia, Baltimore and Charleston, S. C., who were defying Carroll's jurisdiction in the most vital of all episcopal powers—that of delegating pastoral faculties to them for the good of souls. Fathers Elling, Goetz and Heilbron were leaders of a schism in Philadelphia; Father Felix Gallagher was causing unrest in that old centre of Southern culture, Charleston, S. C.; and the noisy Reuter was the centre of sad disorder in the ranks of the German Catholics of Baltimore. On October 12, 1799, Bishop Carroll wrote to Antonelli, saying that if any action were to be taken to divide the diocese, he would hear with pleasure that the Holy See was considering the same favourably. He had desired such a division as early as 1792, though some were beginning to doubt the wisdom of carrying out such a scheme when there were so many petty rebellions against his authority:

If any action is taken to divide this most vast diocese, I would hear with great pleasure that this had been done by the Holy See, as I desired it done in my letters in 1792; and it was my purpose to solicit it as soon as I was sure of having a coadjutor to succeed me in this see. It will, however, be for you in your wisdom to decide whether this can be done safely now, while these commotions lessen ecclesiastical jurisdiction. For I solemnly aver that those who excite these troubles maintained in my presence by their lawyers in a public tribunal, and upheld with all their might, that all distinction between order and jurisdiction was arbitrary

¹² Carroll found a strong supporter for the division of the diocese in the eminent Dominican, Dr. Concanen, who was then acting as American agent in Rome for the Ordinary of Baltimore, (cf. *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Concanen to Carroll, December 20, 1803, Case 2-W2—"I long to hear of your having established a hierarchy in that happy country and of having the satisfaction of greeting Your Lordship as Archbishop of Baltimore").

and fictitious; that all right to exercise ecclesiastical ministry was derived from the people; and that the bishop had no power except to impose hands on the person whom the people presented as their chosen minister; or to inquire whether hands had been previously imposed on him. Then they deny that they are or ever have been subject to my episcopal authority; and when the words of the Pope's brief were shown them, in which all the faithful of the United States are subjected in spiritual government to the bishop, they impudently dared to assail the brief as imposing a yoke on them contrary to the American laws. And yet these are the men who are now sending an agent to the Holy See to obtain what had never before been granted.¹³

The continuance of the German schism in Philadelphia and in Baltimore had the effect of delaying Rome's action in the matter. The disturbance in Charleston caused by the irregularities of Father Gallagher caused an interchange of many letters between Baltimore and Rome, and so helped to obscure the main problems of the American Church. But finally, Carroll's insistence upon the necessity of dividing the diocese won a hearing. On learning of the elevation of Pius VII to the Chair of Peter, Bishop Carroll put the case squarely to Propaganda, and requested that the problem of dividing Baltimore be taken up by the Sacred Congregation and brought before the new Pontiff for decision. In replying to this letter, on June 26, 1802, Cardinal Borgia, then the Prefect of Propaganda, expressed the opinion that the creation of one new diocese would scarcely relieve Carroll of the burdens of his episcopate. Four or five suffragan dioceses would be necessary, with Baltimore as the metropolitan see of the United States. In this way a true ecclesiastical hierarchy would be formed in the Republic, especially since it seemed clear to Propaganda that no hindrance would be placed in the way of this action by the Government of the United States. Carroll's opinion was asked about the feasibility of the plan, and he was requested to send to the Sacred Congregation a memorandum containing the names of the cities where these episcopal sees might be erected, the limits of each diocese, the means of sustentance for the new bishops, and the names of the priests he deemed worthy to occupy the new sees.¹⁴

¹³ Cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 420-421, note 3.

¹⁴ *Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 283, f. 269. In this letter Carroll is informed that the obligation of paying his *ad limina* visit to the Holy See was deferred until

It is not certain when this letter reached Carroll, for the mails in Europe were badly disorganized at this time. He mentions its contents, however, in a letter to Plowden, dated Baltimore, December 7, 1804: "My last advices from Rome concerning my own diocese gave me considerable pleasure. In compliance with repeated solicitations, it is to be divided, and it is even wished here to have it parcelled into four or five, which tho' not too much for its extent, is rather premature, considering the number of Clergymen and the means of support for the different bishops. Probably a multiplication of dioceses may be the means of multiplying priests, of whom there is yet a lamentable dearth."¹⁵

About this date the burden of governing the Church in the Virgin Islands and the newly-purchased territory of Louisiana was placed upon Carroll's shoulders. The following year, on July 13, 1805, Cardinal Borgia informed Carroll that Father Joseph Harent, a Sulpician, who was then in Lyons, had informed the Holy See of the splendid growth of Catholicism in the United States and had supplicated the Holy See to erect new dioceses there as soon as convenient. For the support of the new bishops, Father Harent believed that an arrangement might be made with the Clergy Corporation of Maryland, which held all the property formerly belonging to the Jesuits. Bishop Carroll was asked to reply as to the practicability of this arrangement.¹⁶ Dr. Carroll's answer to Borgia's request is dated November 23, 1806. Four at least, he writes, is the number of new sees which should be created in the United States. The first of these should be at Boston, which would have jurisdiction over five States (*Provinciae*), namely, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Vermont. The second should be New York City, and should embrace New York State and East Jersey. The third should be placed at Philadelphia, with jurisdiction over Pennsylvania, Delaware and West Jersey.¹⁷ The fourth should be some-

convenient (*prorogavit ad congruum tempus tibi benevisum*), and that he should meanwhile send a complete and accurate account of the Diocese of Baltimore to Propaganda.

¹⁵ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

¹⁶ HUGHES (*op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, pp. 713-714) says that this letter "does not appear in the *Propaganda Archives, America Centrale*"; it is to be found badly mutilated in the same archives, *Lettere*, vol. 289, f. 244.

¹⁷ In the *New York Archdiocesan Archives (Maréchal MSS.)*, there is a letter from Maréchal to Bishop Connolly, dated Baltimore, November 2, 1818, giving the limits of the Diocese of Philadelphia in New York.

where in Kentucky, with jurisdiction over the territory of that State and of Tennessee. What city would be convenient for the episcopal see was uncertain. Carroll himself thought that Frankfort or Lexington should be chosen, but a worthy priest who had spent many years in those regions as his vicar-general wished to see the episcopal see erected at Bardstown, because most of the Catholics in Kentucky resided in that vicinity. There was but a handful of Catholics at Frankfort, he was told, and no church there, while Lexington had been but recently settled. A fifth diocese would be highly opportune and should embrace all that territory lying between the Ohio River and the Mississippi, and the border of Canada. It was true that this vast region had few Catholics, and therefore it might very well remain for a time under the direction of the Bishop of Kentucky. The Bishop of Baltimore should retain jurisdiction over Maryland and the rest of the eastern States down to Georgia inclusive.

On June 17, 1807, Carroll wrote to Cardinal di Pietro, Prefect of Propaganda, recommending for the See of Boston Father John Cheverus. He would have preferred Father Matignon, but that exemplary ecclesiastic threatened to return to France if Carroll persisted in naming him for that See. On April 6, 1807, Father Matignon wrote to Bishop Carroll:

My Lord

Advices that I received the same time from Baltimore and New York compel me to address to you humble but strong representation on a subject of the greatest importance for you, for me, and for the good of religion. Can it be, my lord, that you seriously think of me for one of your future suffragans? I am thoroughly convinced that if the distance that I have always lived from you had not made it an impossibility for you to know me, you would never have thought of such a choice. Consequently it is my duty to make myself known to you, without any affectation of humility, but with the same impartiality as I would speak to you about another. The good that has been done here is nearly exclusively the work of Mr. Cheverus; he it is who occupies the pulpit, who is oftenest in the confessional, and who is my counsellor in all that is to be done. For a long time his aversion to have himself known abroad has often caused us to be identified one with the other, and occasionally I have received compliments which in all justice were due to him. At present in spite of his love for self-concealment he is known; and probably with the exception of himself alone, in the estimation of everybody else, I have, as I deserve, but second place. My memory is actually so weakened and

so little to be trusted that within twenty-four hours I am apt to forget the names and the features of persons who have business with me, and what they tell me and have told me, which as has several times happened forces me to avoid all society for fear of thus putting myself in a ridiculous position, which also causes me even more embarrassment in the confessional. The same defective memory hampers me in recalling words that for some years were most familiar to me and at times compels me to stop short in the midst of a sentence. I experience the greatest difficulty in composing the simplest exhortation, and the growing weakness of my sight makes reading very painful to me, if it be something I have composed or copied; so that in seven months I have mounted to the pulpit but once. I am not used to write even a simple letter in English, and I doubt if I could do even that without submitting it to a critic. Finally, I am at present almost incapable of undergoing fatigue, even of a short journey. Exposure to an east wind is enough to give me painful attacks of rheumatism which have made me very ill at various times during the past two years. I am very far, my lord, from wishing to direct or even to influence your choice. But I cannot help saying that if you have decided to choose one of your suffragans from Boston, were this to be in open competition, there is not a single Catholic or Protestant here of either good or little judgment who would not name my *confrère*. If he knew that I am telling you this he would not thank me, for he is far from having any ambition for the place. But the same notice of conscientiousness which would imperiously command me to refuse it, should dictate to him its acceptance. If in fine you wish, my lord, one who unites several characteristic traits such as you yourself possess, especially the precious gift of gaining hearts without failing to inspire respect, I can assure you that he possesses them in an eminent degree. The title of doctor of theology which is the one advantage I have over him cannot assuredly supply for the lack of all virtue. As for the rest, I am far from desiring that this dignity should fall on him, since naturally therefrom would result more frequent absences, which for me are a great trial, especially as regards preaching. It is undoubtedly useless for me to forecast the consequences of a pleasantry I have often indulged in with him by calling him a Jansenist, merely because he spent three years of his seminary course under the Oratorians, a joke to which he lent himself good humoredly. His sentiments, finally, when he is serious are exactly the same as mine; he labours heart and soul in fostering frequent Communion, and in his sermons has often adroitly eulogized both the founder and the society whose missionaries have done such great things. I might, perhaps, have still more forcible things to tell you about my incapacity and absolute unfitness for the dignity of which there is question; but what has been said above ought certainly to suffice to induce you to deny the rumours, which could not be but injurious to the episcopate, and which really torment and afflict me. It seems to me that this dignity would lose much of its lustre if it were said that it was conferred upon another only after my refusal of it. You will certainly not thus imperil it, my lord, if you have

the goodness to reflect seriously on the contents of this letter, or even to consult the wisest and most zealous persons of this city.¹⁸

For Philadelphia, Dr. Carroll proposed Father Michael Egan, O.F.M., who was then about 50 years old. He could not conscientiously offer the name of any priest for the See of New York, and he suggested that it remain for the time being under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Boston, until a suitable choice could be made.¹⁹ For the Diocese of Kentucky, he mentioned four priests—Fathers Stephen Badin, Charles Nerinckx, Benedict Joseph Flaget, and Thomas Wilson, O.P. To these nominations the Propaganda added the names of three Dominicans, Father Richard Luke Concanen, Father John Connolly, and Father Joachim Cowan, for the Diocese of New York. All three of these friars resided in Rome and had been proposed for various sees in Ireland.

The cities chosen by Bishop Carroll and the nominations made were approved by Propaganda and ratified by Pius VII. The new dioceses were: Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Bardstown. The bishops appointed for these sees were: for Boston, the Rt. Rev. John Cheverus, D.D.; for New York, the Rt. Rev. Richard Luke Concanen, O.P.; for Philadelphia, the Rt. Rev. Michael Egan, O.F.M.; for Bardstown, the Rt. Rev. Benedict, Joseph Flaget, S.S. On April 8, 1808, Pope Pius VII by two Briefs, known as *Ex debito pastoralis officii* and *Pontificii muneris*, created Baltimore a metropolitan see, with the four suffragans as named above.²⁰

From two letters written to Charles Plowden at this time, we learn how eagerly Bishop Carroll awaited the official documents for this most important reorganization of the Church in the United States. On December 3, 1808, Carroll writes:

¹⁸ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-17, printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 206-208.

¹⁹ The most prominent clergyman of Pennsylvania at that time, Dr. Matthew Carr, O.S.A., was well acquainted with the condition of the Church in New York State, but, unfortunately, he was under a cloud at the time, owing to difficulties with others members of his Order, and Dr. Carroll was timid about suggesting his name for the New York See. (Cf. *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 4-G8-12, H1-3.)

²⁰ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. iii, ff. 268-274. Both documents will be found (with inaccuracies) in DEMARTINIS, *Jus Pontificium de Propaganda Fide*, vol. iv, pp. 509-511. Rome, 1892. The first (*Ex debito, etc.*) divides the Diocese of Baltimore; the second (*Pontificii muneris*) raises Baltimore to the dignity of a metropolitan See.

You have heard no doubt of the new ecclesiastical order of things in our ecclesiastical government here; that four new Bishops are nominated, and this See is erected into an Archbishopric—As the most excellent Dr. Matignon refused absolutely to be comprehended in the number of new Bishops, and was determined rather to return to Europe, than accept, Rv. Cheverus is named for Boston, having under him the five States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Rhode Island, Connecticut and Vermont—Amongst the Clergy resident in N. York, when my letters went to some there was no one here whom I ventured to recommend for the Episcopacy, and suggested the propriety of leaving that Diocese subject for some time to the Bishop of Boston: but his Holiness was desirous to fill all the Sees, and nominated for N. York, Fr. Concanen, an Irish Dominican at Rome, of whom, I have always had a favourable account. All the necessary documents for the Abprick and new Bpricks were put under his care; he was detained at Leghorn by the embargo on American vessels there at the last of July, and says to me, that he was afraid he could not come till spring: and in my view of things, the appearances of his then obtaining a passage are less favourable than when he wrote. The Bishop of Philad. is the Rev. Michael Egan, a very worthy Franciscan, *ex Ord. Recollectorum*; and of Kentucky, the Rev. Mr. Flaget, a Sulpician, who hitherto professes a determination not to accept. The States south of Maryland quite to Georgia inclusively, belong to the Abprick of Bal. For hitherto so few ecclesiastical Stations are formed beyond the Potomac, and specially beyond Va. that there can yet be no want of a Bishop. On reading the list of the new Bishops you will observe that in nominating subjects for them, I respected the Institute of the Society, and did not make mention of any of the members of it, tho' I was sensible of the aid which Bishops may afford towards its reestablishment, or rather its solidity in these States. Of those nominated, with whom I am acquainted there is no doubt; nor of the Bishop of N. York, if a judgment can be formed on his letters to me, and the sentiments conveyed in them. For some years past in consequence of some services voluntarily and kindly performed for me at Rome before any previous correspondence with him, I was induced to avail myself of his benevolent offers, and requested him to feel the pulse there, and see if a brief might not be obtained, granting for this country authenticity and solidity to that establishment for which you have laboured so long without obtaining the desired sanction. His letters from Leghorn say, that besides the authentic documents above mentioned he has special communications to make to me, which assurance excites some hopes of success. As there is not this year any course of Philosophy at G. Town, I have sent Mr. Kohlmann to N. York where a zealous pastor was much wanted, and he is accompanied by a countryman of my own, lately ordained and out of his novitiate, of great promise, and with four scholastics who have begun a school from which much good is effected.²¹

²¹ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

Two days later (December 5, 1808) Carroll returned to the question of the division:

The immensity of the late Diocese of Baltimore, and the impossibility of extending my care equally over every part of it, has made me long solicit its division, which, however, has been long deferred, but is now granted. By letters from Leghorn dated 23rd and 26th of July, written by Dr. Concanen, late of the Convent of the Minerva, I have full confirmation of this event, first communicated by Dr. Troy of Dublin. His Holiness has nominated four new Bishops for as many New Dioceses in the United States, subject to the Bp. of Baltre. which See is erected into an Archbishoprick, *cum usu pallii &c* and besides this he has appointed an administrator of the Diocese of Louisiana or New Orleans. Some of the new Dioceses have yet few Catholic settlements, and consequently few clergymen: but I have no doubt of their multiplying fast when they have at their head zealous Prelates. The new Bishoprics are to be at Boston, New York, Philada. and Bardstown in Kentucky. The first of these will have for its Bishop Mr. Cheverus, a French priest of great eminence and exceedingly beloved. Dr. Matignon would have been appointed had he not refused it in the most determined manner; fully resolved to return to Europe rather than submit to his nomination. Mr. Concanen is already consecrated at Rome for N. York. I had suggested no one for that station because when I wrote, amongst the clergy in that State there was none, whom my judgment approved, as fit for it, and therefore I purposed leaving it vacant for the present but to remain under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Boston. His Holiness wished to provide at once for all the places and nominated Fr. Concanen. The Rev. Mr. Egan a most worthy Irish priest of the Order of St. Francis (*Recollectorum*) resident some years at Phila. is the Bishop there, and Mr. Flaget a French Sulpician, now here, but who was for a considerable time at Poste Vincennes, an old station of the French Jesuits between Ohio and the lakes, is appointed for Bardstown. The Rev. Mr. Nerinckx, formerly a parish priest in Brabant, near Mechlin, a most holy man, and actually a missionary in Kentucky, is made the Administrator of Louisiana. The proceedings in consequence of this new regulation are stopped by the detention of the official papers, which are in the hands of Mr. Concanen. He went to Leghorn in hopes of obtaining a passage, but it seems that all the American vessels were detained there, and his hopes were very feeble of reaching America before the spring. But I see as little prospect of his being able to come then, as at present: indeed the prospect is thickening more and more between this country and the two great belligerent powers of England and France; a crisis, which moderate counsels on this and your side of the Atlantic might have prevented. Our future opportunities of correspondence will be very rare; and I even fear that we may not have long even that of the monthly packets. Already the operation of our disastrous embargo is such that I can see

any vessel arrives from Europe [*sic*], which keeps us without intelligence ever since the last of Sept., which is painful to me, particularly on account of the situation of the Pope so unhappy to himself, and still more to the Church. Mr. Concanen says in his letters that when the Holy Fr. had sanctioned the decrees for the erection of the new Dioceses, his joy was extreme, and he never ceased speaking of it.

I should have mentioned above, that my Diocese still comprehends Maryland, and the States to the South of it, including Georgia. It would indeed be premature to apportion out other Dioceses in that country—where Religion even hitherto has little or no prospect: Perhaps you may ask why so [*MS. torn*] cause, abstracting from other reasons founded on prejudice and a dissolution [*MS. torn*] of manner, clergymen were long wanting, not absolutely, so, but those, who united with sufficient talents, holiness of life, and a zeal for religion. This may be remedied hereafter: during this year four priests were ordained at G. Town, and two from the Seminary here, and many more are in the course of preparation. One of the first objects of the new Bishops will be undoubtedly to raise Seminaries for supplying their Dioceses with pastors; and then they who live to see this accomplished, may likewise see much greater advances made in the reunion to the church of those, who now are estranged from, or entirely ignorant of it.²²

The official Briefs were brought personally by Cardinal di Pietro, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation, to Bishop-elect Concanen, who lay ill then in Rome. Few ecclesiastics in the Eternal City were so well acquainted with the state of the American Church as Dr. Concanen, and the tragedy that followed his reception of these documents stands alone in our annals. He recovered sufficiently by the end of April to accede to di Pietro's request for an immediate consecration, and on April 24, 1808, as the first Bishop of New York, he was consecrated by the Cardinal-Prefect. It was the intention of the Holy See that he should proceed at once to America with the documents authorizing the consecration of the other bishops. The story of his failure to find passage on an American boat and his death at Naples on June 19, 1810, has been admirably told by the Dominican historian, O'Daniel.²³ Dr. Concanen's death delayed the receipt of these official papers and caused Archbishop Carroll keen embarrassment. He had been informed by letter of May 24, 1808, of the decision made by Propaganda. This letter, together with the

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Concanen's Election to the See of New York (1808-1810)*, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. ii, pp. 19-46.

Pallium and the two papal Briefs, was entrusted to Dr. Concanen, who was empowered to invest America's first archbishop with the insignia of his office.²⁴ Dr. Concanen found it difficult to communicate directly with Archbishop-elect Carroll, owing to the embargo laid upon American vessels in the harbors of Italy. "This will render my departure from here very difficult," Concanen wrote to Archbishop Troy, from Rome, on March 25, 1808, "and I fear the only way I shall have is to attempt getting to Palermo, and there embark on an American ship, or in one bound for England."²⁵ This letter reached Troy on July 4, 1808, and the Dublin prelate copied it and forwarded it to Baltimore. "Allow me now, my dear Lord," he writes to Carroll, "to congratulate Your Lordship and venerable Brethren on the accession of dignity to the North American Catholic Church, of which I may say you are the Apostle and Founder."²⁶ Dr. Troy's letter reached Carroll on September 25, 1808, and Carroll replied the same day, thanking Troy and expressing the hope that Dr. Concanen would be able to leave Italy soon with "the official documents for the erection of the new Episcopal Sees."²⁷ Dr. Concanen wrote several letters direct to Archbishop Carroll, and in those which arrived at Baltimore it is evident that the first Bishop of New York had begun to realize the impossibility of setting out from Europe, owing to the distracted condition of the times, occasioned by the Napoleonic campaigns.²⁸ On August 9, 1809, he informed Carroll that he had "left all these papers sealed up in separate bundles, in the care of Messrs. Filicchi [*at Leghorn*], with directions to forward them immediately to your Grace, if ever safe occasion offered."²⁹ In the autumn of 1809, Concanen had copies made of these American documents and a duplicate set was forwarded to Father Emery, the superior of the Sulpicians, at Paris.³⁰ Bishop-elect Flaget had in the meantime

²⁴ *Propaganda Archives, Letters*, vol. 294, f. 13.

²⁵ From the *Dublin Archiepiscopal Archives*, cited by O'DANIEL, *Concanen's Election*, etc., in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. ii, p. 25.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

²⁷ Printed in the *Researches*, vol. xv, pp. 130-131, from the *Dublin Archiepiscopal Archives*. The letter is also in MORAN, *Spicileg. Ossor.*, vol. iii, pp. 524-525.

²⁸ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-T1, Special C1, Case 8A-2 (letters of July-August, 1809).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Case 2-T1.

³⁰ Concanen to Maréchal, then at Lyons, October 28, and November 30, 1809, and March 13-26, 1810 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 14-U1-4, Case 21A-A4).

gone to Paris to obtain Emery's support in declining the See of Bardstown, and it was on this set of duplicates brought back by Flaget in August, 1810, that Carroll proceeded with the consecration of his suffragans. This fact we learn from Carroll's letter to Bishop Plessis, of Quebec, dated Baltimore, October 15, 1810:

. . . The excellent & Revd gentlemen Mrs. Cheverus, native of France, Egan of Ireland, & Flaget likewise of France, were respectively created bishops of Boston, Philadelphia and Bardstown. The R. Revd. Concanen, of the order of St. Dominick, & who had resided for more than thirty years in Rome, was appointed and consecrated there bishop of New York, and he was entrusted with the Bulls and all other official documents, the proper and requisite evidences of the new organization. For two years he anxiously sought an opportunity to sail for his diocese, and bring with them the papers so necessary for us. But the rigorous embargo, or rather confiscation laid on all American vessels in Italy, by order of Napoleon, put it out of his power to sail in safety; or, as he thought, to hasard the writings in his possession. However, he was prevailed on last spring to have authenticated copies taken of the bulls for the erection of an archiepiscopal see, the division and establishment of the new dioceses, & of the nomination and constitution of their Bishops, he reserving the originals. These copies were sent to a confidential friend in France, and providentially were brought to me by Mr. Flaget, who on hearing of his nomination to a bishopric went to France, & returned last August. He, with the Bishops of Boston and Philadelphia, will be consecrated on the 28th of this month, the first & 4th of Novr. As to the venerable Dr. Concanen himself, after many fruitless endeavours to obtain a passage to America, he thought at last that he had succeeded, & fortified by a passport, he went from Rome to Naples, intending to embark on board an American ship which was allowed to bring home the unfortunate American seamen, whose vessels had been so treacherously confiscated in Naples. But Mr. Concanen on his arrival at that city, was put under arrest & prohibited from going out; which disappointment made such impression on him that he fell ill & died in a few days, June 19. As his appointment was made, & I received news of his being consecrated, & his directions to constitute, in his name, a diocesan Vicar, I left him to regulate with your Lordship services which some of your clergy were graciously pleased to render to the good people on the lake. But it was my duty to have answered and given notice accordingly to your Lordship; for neglecting this, so great a duty, as no apology will be sufficient, I shall offer none, and only pray for your forgiveness.⁸¹

Arrangements were made at once for the consecration of the three prelates. Bishop Egan was consecrated at St. Peter's, the pro-Cathedral of Baltimore, on October 28, 1810. On All Saints'

⁸¹ *Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec, Etats-Unis*, p. 18, printed in the *Records*, vol. xviii, pp. 291-293.

Day, in the same church, Bishop Cheverus was consecrated. On St. Charles' Day, November 4, Bishop Flaget was consecrated at St. Patrick's Church, Fells Point, now within the city limits of Baltimore. Bernard Dornin, the Catholic publisher of Baltimore, issued a small pamphlet entitled *Instructions on the erection of the four new Catholic Episcopal Sees in the United States and the Consecration of their first Bishops, etc.*, to which he added the principal ceremonies and prayers.²² The Dominican William V. Harold, who preached an eloquent sermon on the obedience due to bishops when Dr. Cheverus was consecrated, issued his discourse in pamphlet form, shortly after the ceremony. The eloquent Dominican said:

You have not to resort to antiquity for an example of Episcopal virtue. That bounteous God, whose manifold blessings overspread this land, whose boundless mercies claim our warmest gratitude, still preserves for your advantage, a living encouragement to such virtue and a fair model for your imitation. You will seek both in your venerable and most reverend Prelate—you will find both in the Father of the American Church, and under God the author of its prosperity. In him you will find that meekness which is the best fruit of the Holy Ghost, that humility which for Christ's sake makes him the servant of all, that richly polished character which none but great minds can receive, which nothing but virtue can impart.²³

The bishops remained in Baltimore for several weeks in consultation with the venerable archbishop, and their time was spent in drawing up an Agreement for the uniformity of Catholic discipline throughout the country. This Agreement, together with the data of the Synod of 1791, forms the earliest code of canon law in the American Church. Shea speaks of it as the Pastoral, but it forms rather a deliberation between the bishops, by which they were to regulate their dioceses, until the first national council should meet, namely, within two years from that date (November 15, 1810):

The most Reverend Archbishop and Rt. Rev. Bishops assembled in Baltimore took into their serious consideration the state of the churches under their care, but not being able to extend their enquiries and collect full information concerning many points, which require uniform regulation and perhaps amendment, they reserved to a future occasion a general

²² Cf. FINOTTI, *Bibl. Cath. Amer.*, pp. 176-177. This little work was printed in French and English.

²³ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

review of the ecclesiastical discipline now observed throughout the different dioceses and the reducing of it everywhere to as strict conformity with that of the universal Church as our peculiar situation, circumstances and general benefit of the Faithful will allow. Some matters requiring immediate attention were maturely discussed, on which, after humbly invoking the assistance of the Divine Spirit, resolutions or ordinances were made, which in due time, will be communicated to the Clergy or the laity as they may be concerned in them. The following are some of them and are now published for general information :

1. Pastors of the different churches, or they who in their absence are intrusted with the care of the church, chalices, and sacred vestments, are not to permit any strange and unknown priests to exercise priestly functions before they have exhibited authentic proofs of their having obtained the Bishop's permission.

2. Conformably to the spirit of the Church and its general practice, the Sacrament of Baptism shall be administered in the church only, in all towns in which churches are erected excepting only cases of necessity.

3. Some difficulties have occurred in making immediately a general rule for the celebration of marriages in the Church; as a practice most conformable to general and Catholic discipline it was thought premature now to publish an ordinance to that effect; yet all pastors are directed to recommend this religious usage universally wherever it is not attended with very great inconvenience, and prepare the mind of their flocks for its adoption in a short time.

4. The pastors of the Faithful are earnestly directed to discourage more and more from the pulpit, and in their public and private conferences an attachment to entertainments and diversions of dangerous tendency to morality, such as to frequent theatres, and cherish a fondness of dancing assemblies. They likewise must often warn their congregations against the reading of books dangerous to Faith & morals and especially a promiscuous reading of all kinds of novels. The faithful themselves should always remember the severity with which the Church, guided by the Holy Ghost constantly prohibited writings calculated to diminish the respect due to our Holy Religion.

5. The Archbishop and Bishop enjoin on all priests exercising in their respective Dioceses faculties for the administration of the sacraments, not to admit to those of penance and the Bd. Eucharist such persons as are known to belong to the association commonly called Freemasons, unless these persons seriously promise to abstain forever from going to their lodges and professing themselves to belong to their Society, and Pastors of Congregations shall frequently recommend to all under their care never to join with or become members of said fraternity.

✠ J. *Ab'p. of B're.*

✠ LEONARD, *Bp. of Gortyna, Coadjutor*

✠ MICHAEL, *Bp. of Phila.*

✠ BENEDICT JOSEPH, *Bp. of Bardstown*

✠ JOHN, *Bis'p of Boston.*

The result of their further deliberations was a more detailed set of regulations for the administration of the Church :

1. *Provincial Council.*

It appears to the Archbishop and Bishops now assembled, that the holding of a Provincial Council will be more advantageous at a future period when the situation and the wants of the different dioceses will be more exactly known. This provincial Council will be held at furthest within two years from the first of November, 1810; and in the meantime the Archbishops and Bishops will now consider together such matters as appears to them the most urgent & they recommend an uniform practice in regard to their decisions, until the holding of said Provincial Council.

2. *Diocesan Synod.*

The difficulty of frequently holding Diocesan Synods will be represented to the Holy See; and the time of assembling them be left to the discretion of the respective Bishops. But in the case any should neglect the calling of a Diocesan Synod, when easily practicable & requisite for the good of his Diocese, the Archbishops shall take lawful measures for the convocation of such Synod.

3. *Episcopal Visits.*

It shall be represented to the Holy See that annual visits of the whole Diocese are in this country, altogether impracticable, and would prove an insupportable burden to the Bishops. The time and frequency of such visits ought therefore to be left to the discretion of each Bishop. Every Bishop however is requested to visit every year part of his Diocese & to bear in mind the importance and usefulness of such visits.

4. *Nomination of Bishops.*

In case the Holy See will graciously permit the nomination to vacant Bishopricks to be made in the United States, it is humbly and respectfully suggested to the Supreme Pastor of the Church to allow the nomination for the vacant Diocese to proceed solely from the Archbishop and Bishops of this ecclesiastical Province.

5. *Priests who are members of secular or Regular Congregations.*

When Priests belonging to Secular or Regular Congregations have, with the consent of their Superiors, been intrusted with the care of Souls, it is our opinion that such Priests ought not to be at the disposal of their Superiors, & be recalled against the will of the Bishops. At the same time we profess most willingly our esteem and respect for these Congregations so useful to our Dioceses, and our confidence to their Superiors. We shall see with pleasure our Diocesans follow their vocations, when they wish to become members of said Congregations. Nor do we intend to insist upon employing in the ministry such subjects as are really wanted by the said Congregations or even to oppose the recall of the Priests already employed in the ministry, provided such recall shall appear to the Diocesan Bishops absolutely necessary for the existence or welfare of such Congregations.

6. *Priests residing on the confines of different Dioceses.*

Priests approved in any Diocese of the United States may exercise their faculties in the neighbouring Dioceses, but if such priests leave their own Diocese without obtaining an exeat, they are not allowed to exercise their faculties any longer than two months, except they obtain authority from the Bishop of the Diocese to which they have emigrated whose duty it shall be to proceed with them agreeably to the Canons of general discipline provided for such cases.

7. *Strange Priests.*

Pastors of the different churches, or those who in their absence are intrusted with the care of the church, are never to permit any strange, unknown Priests to exercise Priestly functions, before they have exhibited authentic faculties, or letters from the Bishop, and obtained his permission.

8. *Holy Scripture.*

The translation of the old and new testament commonly called the Douay Bible is to be literally followed and copied, whenever any part of the Holy Scripture is inserted in any prayer-book or book of devotion; and no private or other translation is to be made use of in those books.

9. *Vernacular Language.*

It is being made known to the Archbishops and Bishops that there exists a difference of opinion and practice among some of the clergy of the United States concerning the use of the vernacular language in any part of the public service, and in the administration of the Sacraments, it is hereby enjoined on all Priests not only to celebrate the whole Mass in the Latin language, but likewise when they administer Baptism, the Holy Eucharist, Penance and Extreme Unction, to express the necessary and essential form of those Sacraments in the same tongue according to the Roman ritual, but it does not appear contrary to the injunctions of the Church to say in the vernacular language the prayers previous and subsequent to those Sacred forms, provided however, that no translation of those prayers shall be made use of except one authorized by the concurrent approbation of the Bishops of this ecclesiastical Province, which translation will be printed as soon as it can be prepared under their inspection. In the meantime the translation of the late venerable Bishop Challoner may be made use of.

10. *Registers.*

All Priests are requested to remember the obligation of recording and carefully preserving in a book for that purpose the Baptisms, Marriages & Burials of their respective Congregations.

11. *Baptisms.*

Conformably to the Spirit of the Church and its general practice, the Sacrament of Baptism shall be administered in the Church only, in all towns where churches are erected except in cases of necessity.

12. *Sponsors.*

When a sponsor for a child to be baptized cannot be procured, the child is to be solemnly baptized with the usual ceremonies, but only receives what is called private baptism.

13. *Contributions for Masses.*

On account of the rise in provisions and other necessities of life the contribution for a Mass is now fixed at fifty cents.

14. *Marriages.*

Many difficulties having occurred in regard to the forming of a general rule that all marriages should be celebrated in the church as a practice most conformable to the general discipline; it was judged premature to make now an ordinance on that subject; but all Pastors are directed to command this usage universally, and prepare the minds of their flocks for its adoption in a short time.

15. *Vows of Chastity.*

Perpetual vows of chastity ought not to be advised or even allowed to individuals or pious associations of persons of either sex who are not members of some approved Religious Order.

16. *Public Entertainments.*

All pastors of Souls are earnestly directed to discourage more and more from the pulpit and in their public and private conferences an attachment to entertainments & diversions of a dangerous tendency to morality, such as a frequentation of the theatre and a fondness for dancing assemblies. They are likewise to prohibit the reading of books tending to corrupt faith or manners, especially the promiscuous reading of all kinds of novels. The faithful themselves are to bear constantly in mind the severity with which the Church, guided by the Holy Ghost, has always proscribed writings calculated to diminish the respect due to our holy religion.

17. *Free Masons.*

The Archbishop and Bishops enjoin on all Priests exercising their faculties in their respective Dioceses not to administer the Sacraments of Penance and Eucharist to such persons as are known to be of the association of Free Masons unless they seriously promise to abstain from going to their Lodges, and professing themselves to belong to their Society. And Pastors of Congregations shall frequently recommend to all under their care not to join with or become members of the said Fraternity.

18. *Benediction of the B. Sacrament.*

An uniform mode of giving Benediction with the B. Sacrament will be transmitted by each of the Bishops to the clergy of their respective Dioceses.

- Baltimore, Nov. 19, 1810. ✠ JOHN, *Archb. of Baltimore*
 ✠ LEONARD NEALE, *Bp. of Gortyna,*
Coadj. of Balt'e.
 ✠ MICHAEL, *Bp. of Philadelphia*
 ✠ JOHN, *Bishop of Boston*
 ✠ BENEDICTUS JOSEPH, *Bp. of Bardtown.*³⁴

³⁴ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-J1; printed in GRIFFIN, *Egan*, pp. 44-48. Copies of this agreement were made to be sent out to the priests; a certain number are still extant (*ibid.*, Case 11-11-3).

On February 17, 1810, Archbishop Troy, in the name of the Catholic hierarchy of Ireland, sent to the American prelates a copy of the letter of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland on the imprisonment of Pope Pius VII. This letter was read by Archbishop Carroll to the new bishops at their informal meeting in November, 1810. On November 15, 1810, the archbishop and the four American bishops drafted and signed a solemn protest against the captivity of Pius VII:

We undersigned, by divine permission, and with the approbation of the Holy See, Archbishop and Bishops of our respective Dioceses:

To our beloved Brethren, Grace and Peace from God our Father, and from the Lord JESUS CHRIST.

The many outrages committed against the person of our chief Pastor Pius the 7th, the vicar of our Lord *Jesus Christ* in the government of the Holy See, have been long known to you, our beloved Brethren, and excited in your breasts sentiments of deep affliction and indignation. These acts of aggression were not only unprovoked, but, to avert them, our Holy Father employed all means of forbearance, meekness, patience, paternal admonition, charitable remonstrances, and even condescension as far as his conscience and duty would allow him, thus evincing his sincere desire to preserve peace, unity and true religion in the whole flock committed to this charge. But fruitless were his endeavours to restrain violence and infuse principles of justice. The work of oppression went on to its consummation, in defiance of all law, natural and divine. After suffering with that placid constancy, which only the God of fortitude could inspire, the most disrespectful and insulting treatment, and being stripped of the dominions, which had been held by his Predecessors for more than a thousand years, to the immense benefit of the Christian world, he was first made a prisoner within the walls of his own palace, and then, as was his immediate and Holy Predecessor of blessed memory Pius the 6th, forcibly dragged away from the chair of St. Peter, and the sacred ashes of the Apostles; he is detained in a foreign land, as a prisoner, and debarred from communicating with any part of the flock committed to his pastoral care and solicitude. Thus has Divine Providence permitted him to drink of that cup, and share in those sufferings, of which the first of his Predecessors St. Peter, and many after him, had so large a portion; to the end that their constancy in resisting the impiety of the enemies of *Jesus Christ* might be as conspicuous, as their high rank in the Church of God; and that their public testimony for the honour of his sacred person and religion might confound, and leave without excuse the malevolence or ignorance of those men, who continue to calumniate the Bishops of Rome, as corrupters of the faith, and worship of God the Father, and his Blessed Son, the Saviour of mankind, for whose sake so many of them sacrificed their liberty and their lives.

But, though the Church is glorified by their meritorious sufferings, it is not less the duty of all its members, during the oppression of our common Father, to offer up our fervent prayers for his deliverance from the power of his enemies, that he may freely and efficaciously exercise, for the advantage of our souls, his important pastoral duties. When St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, was cast into prison by the impious Herod, and loaded with chains, the Primitive Christians regarded it as a common calamity, and *prayer was made without ceasing by the Church to God for him.* Acts, ch. 12. v. 5. Their prayers were graciously heard, and *an angel of the Lord stood by him. . . . and the chains fell off from his hands.* v. 7.

Encouraged by their example and success let us beseech the Almighty Founder, Preserver and continual Protector of his Church to manifest his power in these our days, as heretofore, by delivering our chief Pastor out of the hands of his enemies, and restoring peace and tranquillity, so that he, and other Pastors under him may again every where and in all freedom minister to their respective flocks in all holy things. To render our prayers acceptable before God, they must proceed from penitential hearts, deeply humiliated by a sense of their past transgressions, fully resolved to follow no more their sinful lusts, and disorderly affections, and filled with an assurance of obtaining mercy and favour through the merits of our Saviour *Jesus Christ.*

Wherefore, on every Sunday and festival, either immediately before Mass or Sermon, the respective Pastors shall recite the 120th psalm with the prayer thereto annexed; and all priests, at the daily celebration of Mass, besides the proper collects, shall add that for the Pope, as in the missal—*Deus, omnium Fidelium pastor et rector, &c.* These directions are to be observed, till further notice.

May the grace of God, through Jesus Christ, and that peace, which the world cannot give, remain always with you.

Baltimore, Nov. 15, 1810.

✠ JOHN, *Archbishop of Baltimore,*
 ✠ MICHAEL, *Bishop of Philadelphia,*
 ✠ JOHN, *Bishop of Boston,*
 ✠ BENEDICT JOSEPH, *Bishop of Bardonia.*

PSALM 120.

I have lifted up my eyes to the mountains; from whence help shall come to me.

My help is from the Lord, who made heaven and earth.

May he not suffer thy foot to be moved! neither let him slumber who keepeth thee.

Behold he shall neither slumber nor sleep who keepeth Israel.

The Lord is thy keeper: the Lord is thy protection upon thy right hand.

The sun shall not burn thee by day—nor the moon by night.

The Lord keepeth thee from evil: may the Lord keep thy soul!

May the Lord keep thy coming-in, and thy going-out, from henceforth,
now and forever!

Glory be to the Father, &c.

As it was in the beginning, &c.

V. Let us pray for our chief Bishop Pius.

R. Our Lord preserve him and give him life, and make him blessed on
earth, and deliver him not to the will of his enemies.

V. O Lord hear my prayer.

R. And let my supplication come unto thee.

V. The Lord be with you.

R. And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

O God, the Pastor and Governor of all the faithful, look down in thy
mercy on thy servant Pius, whom thou hast appointed to be Pastor over
thy Church: Grant, we beseech thee, that both by word and example, he
may be profitable to those, over whom he presides, that, together with the
flock intrusted to him, he may obtain everlasting life. Through Christ
our Lord, *Amen.*

This first joint encyclical of the American hierarchy was trans-
mitted to Archbishop Troy of Dublin, on November 26, 1810,
with the following letter:

Agreeably to your Lordship's desire, I delivered a copy of the printed
letter of the Most Reverend Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland to my
Coadjutor, and the Bishops of Philadelphia, Boston, and Bardstown, Ken-
tucky, and we perused it with all the veneration due to those eminent
prelates, who now constitute perhaps the fairest hope and strongest bulwark
of the Church throughout the Christian world, for you enjoy, through
Divine Mercy, the privilege of openly declaring the genuine sentiments
which may animate and enlighten not only the pastors, but likewise all
members of the Catholic Church. To make the communication to the
Right Rev. Brethren, I availed myself of the circumstance of their
being all brought together at this place to receive their consecration on
the 28th October, 1st and 4th of this month.

The consecrations being done, the Bishops remained two entire weeks
with me, to advise on many points of regulation, and discipline, that we
may follow an uniform practice in the government of our Churches;
and likewise to take into consideration the present state of the Catholic
Church, of its visible head, our Venerable Pontiff, and the consequences of
his being withdrawn from his captivity, either by violence, or the ruin of
his constitution by interior and exterior sufferings. In these discussions,
the Encyclical letter from your Most and Right Reverend Lordships neces-
sarily offered itself to our minds, and though we know not whether the
Vicars Apostolical in England, or the Bishops of any other country, have
expressed themselves as a body, on the obedience due to any acts emanat-

ing ostensibly from the Pope, or on the caution to be used in recognizing his successor; yet we judged it our duty to transmit you an answer, which I have the honour to enclose. We were too sensible of our insufficiency, and recent dates of our establishment, to prescribe to ourselves, or profess before the venerable Fathers of the Church, an adhesion to specific rules of conduct in all the most intricate situations that may happen; humbly trusting, that if the exigency should arise, we shall be directed by that Divine Spirit which is promised to the Pastors, successors of the Apostles. We therefore pledged ourselves to those general principles, which are now indispensable and essential, not doubting, but your determination and luminous examples will, under God, be our direction in the disastrous times and events so likely to ensue.³⁵

The text of the joint encyclical of the American bishops is as follows:

Greeting in the Lord to the most Illustrious and Most Reverend Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland from the appointed Archbishop and Bishops of the United States.

The letter which your charity, Venerable Brethren, addressed on February 27 to all the Ordinaries of the Catholic Church has been received by us with gratitude and that respect which is due to you. We are determined with God's help, to defend both the Unity of the Church of Christ and the authority of the Holy See on which that unity depends, and to safeguard and defend the primacy of honour and of jurisdiction which belongs to the Sovereign Pontiff by divine right. It is our sacred and pleasing duty to pledge our fullest faith and obedience to Pope Pius VII who at present holds the supreme Pontificate. To him to whom all praise is due as Pontiff we adhere and declare our submission, as members cling to their head. And if, according to the words of St. Paul, the affliction of one member causes suffering to all the other members, how much more severely must the bitter affliction the head itself affect all the members?

We grieve then with you, Venerable Brethren, and are roused to indignation in the Lord; and we declare it together with you an unspeakable outrage that the aged Pontiff should be driven from his home and country, a blameless bishop sadly afflicted, the Mother Church stripped of her patrimony, and a worthy Pontiff thus maltreated. We ourselves are not unmindful of the benefits which Pius VII has bestowed on us in this distant country. For it was due to his provident and apostolic care that this portion of the Lord's fold in the United States has been formed into an ecclesiastical province of four suffragan Bishops with the Archbishop of Baltimore at their head.

³⁵ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Case 9A-A3; printed partly in MORAN, op. cit., p. 532.*

We trust in the Lord that the singular fortitude of soul which shone forth so gloriously in Pius VI of happy memory, may likewise be the conspicuous note of the reign of Pius VII; and we have no doubt that he will continue to exhibit, for the consolation of the Church, that constancy of soul which he has already shown in bearing up amidst afflictions, whenever there will be any occasion to act, or to speak, or perchance to suffer.

In the mean time we openly proclaim that we shall listen humbly to the admonitions of the Holy Father, tho he be detained in captivity; and that we shall promptly obey his wishes and commands, so long as these bear the authentic stamp of the voice and mind, and the requisite notes of the Pontifical authority; but we shall not consider ourselves obliged as bound by letters or documents of whatever description, pretending to emanate from him and circulated in his name, unless it shall first be made clear beyond all suspicion that Pius VII has been perfectly and entirely free in his deliberations and counsels.

But if the Sovereign Pontiff should die (which God prevent amidst the present dangers of the Church) we, together with you Venerable Brethren, shall confide in the Almighty not to desert His Church in so great a calamity, which, though she may be bereft of her Sovereign Pastor for a long time on earth, shall rather sustain lesser evils than that any one should either by violence or threat ascend the throne of Peter and tear the mystic body of Christ. Hence we are prepared with full determination, and shall endeavor to persuade the people committed to our care, that no one is to be recognized as the true successor of St. Peter, unless he be accepted as such by far the greater part of the Episcopate of the whole world, and by nearly the entire Catholic people.

If we, who as yet barely enjoy a name among the Churches, have decreed to open our minds to you, Venerable Brethren, it was due to your courtesy in as much as you felt moved to send to us also your encyclical letter addressed to the other Bishops of the Catholic world; and it would be wrong in us not to respond to the high honor you have done us; for you are the heirs of those episcopal sees which have been made illustrious for ages by the virtue of the long lives of saintly bishops your predecessors. You are preserving the people committed to you in the ancient and true faith and piety, and you exhibit the singular and perchance unique example of unbroken fortitude in safeguarding and propagating Catholic dogma, despite the opposition of all human artifices, fraud and violence.

Humbly commending ourselves to your prayers, we beg that you may receive every blessing which can prosper your country, your churches and each of you individually.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, Case 8-N6; printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 72-74. Acknowledged by Troy on February 28, 1811 (*ibid.*, Case 8-N7).

Dr. Carroll refers to this important action of the American hierarchy in a letter to Plowden, dated January 17, 1812, as follows:

At the same time we had before us the circular Latin letter of the Prelates of Ireland, officially transmitted by Abp. Troy. It related, as you know, to the calamitous state of the Pope, and the Church. To answer it was incumbent on us; but on account of the infancy of our hierarchy, we felt a diffidence. Yet we did answer, and I hear that our answer was published in England and Ireland, which was not foreseen here. We were more reserved, as you may have observed, than our Irish Brethren, not daring to anticipate the specific course to be pursued hereafter in the future contingencies of the Church, humbly trusting to the guidance of the Holy Ghost, if those contingencies should ensue, to the examples given us by the more antient churches, and fortifying ourselves by the promises of Christ, that the powers of hell shall not prevail against that Church, which he acquired with his blood. We resolved likewise at our meeting to attempt the opening of an avenue to the incarcerated Pontiff.⁸⁷

The consultations at Baltimore were finished with the decision to hold a National Council in November, 1812, and the three new bishops were free to set out for their appointed sees. Bishops Egan and Cheverus journeyed from Baltimore to Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg. No mention is made of this visit in the *Story of the Mountain*, but Mother Seton writes to Bishop Carroll, on November 29, 1810: "I need not tell you our consolation in receiving the Blessed Bishops nor how many benedictions they poured upon us. We have been very sensible of this special favor." Bishop Egan's niece, Mary Egan, was then in the Academy directed by the Daughters of Charity at Emmitsburg. Bishop Egan also had the pleasure of meeting again the first three ladies—all from Philadelphia—who had joined Mother Seton's community, Miss Cecilia O'Conway, Miss Mary Ann Butler, and Miss Maria Murphy, the last-named being a niece of Mathew Carey, one of the prominent Catholic laymen of Philadelphia. To Bishop Cheverus, who had an important share in the conversion of Mother Seton, in 1805, the visit to Emmitsburg was the source of profound satisfaction. Strangely enough, although he had been her friend and counsellor in all her undertakings after her conversion, she had never seen Dr. Cheverus

⁸⁷ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

until he presented himself to her on this memorable occasion.⁸⁸ From Emmitsburg the two prelates set out for their respective sees. It is not certain whether they travelled together, although there is a letter extant from Father Dubois, then President of Mount St. Mary's College, to Mother Seton, asking her to prevail upon Bishop Cheverus to celebrate pontifical Mass for the collegians the following Sunday. In all probability they were together for a few days in Philadelphia, before Bishop Cheverus started on his long journey to Boston. Bishop Flaget was less fortunate than his two brethren in the episcopate. After his consecration he found that he had not sufficient money to pay for his journey to Kentucky; and when the venerable Archbishop informed him that he, too, was unable to assist him, it was no longer possible to keep his indigency a secret. Bishop Flaget had numerous friends in Baltimore, and by a private subscription the necessary amount was quickly collected. It was not, however, till May of the following year, 1811, that Bishop Flaget was able to begin his arduous journey to Kentucky. Some years afterwards, Bishop Flaget described this period of embarrassment in a letter to the Society of the Propagation of the Faith. He writes:

It was in June 9, 1811, that I made my entry into this little village [*Bardstown*] accompanied by two priests and three young students, for the ecclesiastical state. Not only had I not a cent in my purse, but I was even compelled to borrow nearly two thousand francs, in order to be able to reach my destination. Thus, without money, without a house, without property, almost without acquaintances, I found myself in the midst of a diocese, two or three times larger than all France, containing five large States and two territories, and myself speaking the language very imperfectly. Add to all this that almost all the Catholics were emigrants, but newly settled and poorly furnished.⁸⁹

Bishops Egan and Cheverus were better prepared to meet the expenses of their journey and were going to dioceses where the Faith had been growing for nearly a century; but if they met with a more encouraging outlook than the intrepid Flaget, difficulties of another and more serious kind were awaiting them both.

The close of the year 1810, the twentieth in the history of the

⁸⁸ WHITE, *Life of Mrs. Seton*, p. 282.

⁸⁹ SPALDING, *Sketches, etc.*, pp. 188-189.

American episcopate, found the American hierarchy composed of one archbishop, one coadjutor-bishop, three suffragan bishops, one vacant see, that of New York, with Father Anthony Kohlmann, S. J., as vicar-general during the interim; about seventy priests and eighty churches. There were three theological seminaries: St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore; the Jesuit novitiate, at Georgetown, and St. Rose's Dominican novitiate in Kentucky. Three colleges for the education of young men were in existence: St. Mary's College, Baltimore; Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, and St. Thomas' College, in Kentucky, conducted by the Dominicans. There were several academies for the education of young ladies, the best known being St. Joseph's Academy at Emmitsburg, directed by Mother Seton. An orphan asylum for Catholic children had been incorporated at Philadelphia (December 17, 1808). Private Catholic schools existed in the main centres of population. "With the exception of six priests in Kentucky and seven or eight farther West, the clergy were all stationed east of the Alleghanies."⁴⁰

No accurate description of the general condition of Catholic life in the five dioceses can be given. It was a time of pioneer evangelization. The waves of the great emigration which flowed toward the shores of America hardly reached our coasts until after Archbishop Carroll had passed away to his reward. The object nearest the hearts of these our earliest spiritual shepherds was the strengthening of the faith of their people, the building of churches, the preparation of young men for the priesthood, and above all, the creation of a thorough system of Catholic education for the young.

To a great extent the remaining five years of Archbishop Carroll's life would seem at first glance to be overshadowed by the march of events in the dioceses suffragan to Baltimore; but a careful study of the state of religion in these different parts of the country reveals the grasp he possessed to the very end on all that concerned the good of religion and of Catholicism as a factor in American life. To understand these last years of the venerable prelate's life, an account of the growth of the Church in these five dioceses during the period of Carroll's episcopate (1790-1815) is necessary.

⁴⁰ WHITE, *op. cit.*, p. 491.

CHAPTER XXX
THE SUFFRAGAN SEES: I. BOSTON
(1792-1815)

As constituted by the Brief *Ex debito pastoralis officii* of April 8, 1808, the Diocese of Boston embraced all the New England States: Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New Hampshire, and the District of Maine.¹ It is impossible to say how many Catholics were residents in this great extent of territory, all numbers given being merely conjectures or based upon evidence that cannot be sustained. From 1689, when it was asserted that there was not a single Catholic in all New England,² down to the report sent to Dr. Carroll by Matignon in 1798, nothing is certain on this question. New England is not mentioned in Carroll's *Report* of March 1, 1785, and no priest is given as ministering in that territory. Fathers Poterie, Rousselet, and Thayer, who lived at and around Boston from 1788 to 1792 can hardly be trusted as capable observers of the Catholic life about them.

Bishop Carroll's experience with the Catholics in Boston had not been an encouraging one. At his accession to the See of Baltimore in 1790, one priest in good standing at the time, the convert Father John Thayer, was in charge of the little congregation of Boston. Thayer was not, as has been seen, a constructive genius; and the real beginnings of the Catholic Church in Boston must, therefore, be credited to his successor, Father Francis Anthony Matignon, who arrived in Boston in the summer of 1792. Matignon was one of the best types of the refugee French clergy of the period. Born in Paris in 1753, he was ordained priest in 1778, and received the degree of Doctor of

¹ "Tertiam Bostoniae cum dioecesi, intra quam istas includimus provincias, nempe novam Stantoniam, Massachatensem, insulam Rhodi, Connecticut et Vermont," *Jus Pontificium*, vol. iv, pp. 509-510.

² *Andros Tracts*, part i, p. 207.

Divinity at the Sorbonne in 1785. He was appointed Regius Professor of Theology in the College of Navarre, and at the outbreak of the French Revolution was exiled with many of his fellow-clergy. During his stay in England he made the acquaintance of several members of the former English Jesuit Province, all friends of Bishop Carroll; and especially was he known to the procurator, Father Thomas Talbot, then living in London. Father Talbot was in close touch with the American Church through his correspondence with Dr. Carroll, and he persuaded the Sorbonne professor to go out to America to assist Dr. Carroll in the missions. Dr. Matignon's talents were of the highest quality, and in his manner all the accomplishments of the gentlemen of the French court of the day were visible. Born amid wealth and culture, his circle of friends in Paris included nobles, prelates, and cardinals, and even the unfortunate Louis XVI. When he came to Boston, life was crude in many ways in the future home of American culture.

He found the people of New England more than suspicious about the great designs he had in view. Absurd and foolish legends of the Pope and Popery had been handed down from father to son since the first colonization of New England, and a prejudice of undefined and undefinable dislike, if not hatred, to everything connected with Rome reigned supreme in the minds of the Puritan community. It required a thorough acquaintance with the world to know precisely how to meet these sentiments of a whole people. Violence and indiscretion would have destroyed all hopes of success; ignorance would have exposed the cause to sarcasm and contempt; and enthusiasm too manifest would have produced a reaction that would have ruined the infant establishment. Dr. Matignon was exactly fitted to encounter all these difficulties; and he saw them and knew the extent of his task. With meekness and humility he disarmed the proud; with prudence, learning, and wisdom, he met the captious and slanderous; and so gentle and so just was his course that even the censorious forgot to watch him, and the malicious were too cunning to attack one armed so strong in his poverty.⁸

During the latter half of the year 1792, English Catholics, writes Ward, "became occupied about new and unexpected events, which not only had the most desirable effect of distracting them from their own internal disputes, but likewise brought about results which had a permanent and far-reaching influence on the

⁸ *United States Catholic Magazine*, vol. viii, p. 166.

future of Catholicity in this country. This was the arrival of the French refugee priests, most of them in a state of poverty, or even destitution, which brought about one of the greatest national acts of charity recorded in our history."⁴ Protestant and Catholic alike came to the rescue of these unfortunate victims of the French Revolution, whose numbers in England increased after the passage of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in July, 1790. Many of these French priests corresponded with Dr. Carroll, and there are several letters from Monseigneur Count de la Marche, Bishop of St. Pol de Léon in Brittany. With the advent of the horrible massacres which occurred in Paris and in other cities of France, in September, 1792—it was during the night of September 2, that the unspeakable crime at the Carmes took place—the Catholic clergy saw only one escape from death by the Jacobites, namely, the road to exile. In England there were at this time about three thousand French refugee priests, and sixteen bishops. The Abbé Barruel has described their plight in his *History of the Clergy during the French Revolution*, and his work contains many remarkable pages for the history of Catholicism in England. Committees were immediately formed to relieve the distress of these cultured French gentlemen, and more than once the plan was proposed to induce some of them to go out to the new Diocese of Baltimore. Few came, however, from England. The Sulpicians and the others, like Fathers Sougé and Tisserand, came directly from France. Francis Matignon was among these refugees, and Cheverus, who followed him to London, is said to have founded the present congregation at Tottenham, London (1794-1796). After a short stay in London, where he acquired English, Father Matignon decided to come to Baltimore to offer his services to Carroll. He was thirty-nine years old at the time of his arrival. His companions across the Atlantic, Maréchal, Richard, and Ciquard, were immediately given posts by Bishop Carroll. Father Maréchal was first sent to Bohemia, and then to Philadelphia; Father Richard was sent to Detroit as assistant to Father Levadoux, and Father Ciquard, who had expressed a wish for missionary work among the Indians, was sent to the Indians in Maine.⁵

⁴ *Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England*, vol. ii, p. 1. London, 1909.

⁵ Francis Ciquard was ordained to the priesthood in 1781; the following year he

The condition of the Catholic Indians in Maine was brought to Dr. Carroll's attention when John Allan, who had been an agent for the Government in that district, wrote to the Bishop of Baltimore (May 23, 1791), appealing for a priest to minister to these faithful children of the Church:

Rever'd and Respected Sir:

I do myself the honour to inclose you a Speech deliv'd at a Council of the Indians in this country, soliciting the indulgence of a clergyman of the Roman Catholic profession. From a long acquaintance with this people, and having command of them during the late war between America & Britain, I am in some degree knowing to their sentiments and disposition respecting their religious tenets; they are a very exemplary people (consistent with their customs and manners) as are to be met with—zealous and Tenacious of the rites of the church and strictly moral, cautious of misbelieving in point of religion, even to be observed when intoxicated. I have been surprised so little notice has been taken of them in this respect, tho' rude and uncultivated in many other matters, they are truly civilized in this, and it was always observ'd by the French Gentlemen of the Clergy, which we were favoured with during the war, that they never saw a more respectable collection in France, & excepting the Cathedral & some particular places of worship, their performance, chants in latin, etc., were in most instances superior to any.—I have been myself charmed with them, when shut up in the woods, & tho' of a different sentiment, believe them to be truly Christians, meriting the peculiar blessings of the deity—they teach their children when able to lisp a word, the service, and as they grow up become in a manner innate, this owing to the assiduity of the French missionaries—much to their honour.

Their attachment to America is great, even with those whose hunts go within the British provinces, & I think, I have sufficient authority to assert, that the number who continued with me during the war, behaved with as much fidelity and zeal as any people whatever within the United States.

It is certain they are of great use in this quarter—their trade is considerable, but the benefits this infant country receives, by supplying it with wild meats—is much more—they behave with moderation and prudence when they come among the inhabitants; no complaints of any consequence have I heard since I have been in this country (15 years).—As to their circumstances, I presume from what I have already seen, there would not be a more profitable mission [*than*] this [*in*] the States, nor a situa-

joined the Sulpicians, and left for Canada in 1783. Later, he returned to France where he became Rector of the Seminary of Bourges. At the outbreak of the Revolution, he returned to America, and went, at Carroll's request, to the Indians. With the advent of Cheverus, he left Maine, and settled at Fredericktown, N. B. Later, he came to Baltimore, and there is a record on May 30, 1798, of an *exeat* granted to him for Quebec. (*Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec, États-Unis*, 3:31).

tion more agreeable, for a person who is actuated & influenced with a Spirit of Christianity. Should you Rev. Sir grant the favour to them, we have it in contemplation to build a chapple—having several tracts of land of my own, I shall give a spot for it, or procure one from Government. The Speech is as literally and accurately translated as the two languages will admit; if any thing appears deficient or presumptive in the mode, you will please excuse, as well any irregularity in my address—attribute only to the want of knowledge in such sacred business. You will perceive my name mentioned. I was against it, but being a confidant in all their concerns, from a long intimacy before I left Nova Scotia, and the command in the department during the late Revolution, they insisted on it, & I confess, I have so great attachment, I wish to do everything in my power for their satisfaction and comfort.

It may not be amiss to mention, that they are a very moral people among themselves (tho' some drink hard, it is not universal) and admire it in strangers. As their mind is never in pursuit of many objects at once, they are consequently very attentive, with much taciturnity and sagacity, on the particular object they have in view—they soon know a priest, a priest's character, and tho' they will be all obedience for his dignified station, should they observe any imprudence, will quickly observe and resent it. When a person is exemplary for his life & conversation—strictly attentive to the duty of his calling—open, affable, free & generous (within the bounds of that distinction to be always observed by spiritual teachers) they will sacrifice all for him, nothing they can do will be too good. . . .

I have wrote to Mr. Thayer twice, I presume he has acquainted you with the particulars. The Cross sent, belongs to a family—has been in many generations, they are very anxious for its safety, would recommend to have it returned. I was at the village yesterday where much solemnity appeared in closing the business, they are daily arriving. Should this, or any further information I can give be acceptable and satisfactory, in this or any other business, you will please command freely, at any time, as I have nothing in view but the happiness of those people. Excuse any imperfection & incorrection, as I write in a hurry.⁶

Dr. Carroll had no priest to send to the Maine Indians at this time, and their situation was not bettered when Rousselet, after being disgraced in Boston, had gone to live amongst them. On March 20, 1792, Carroll wrote to President Washington, asking him to assist the Church in making provision for the spiritual comfort of these wards of the United States. Washington replied on April 10, 1792, to the effect that application should be made to the State of Massachusetts:

⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 5-A3; printed in the *Records*, vol. xix, pp. 214-217.

Sir, I have received and duly considered your memorial of the 20th ultimo, on the subject of instructing the Indians, within and contiguous to the United States, in the principles and duties of Christianity.

The war now existing between the United States and some tribes of the western Indians prevents, for the present, any interference of this nature with them. The Indians of the Five Nations are in their religious concerns under the immediate superintendence of the Reverend Mr. Kirkland; and those, who dwell in the eastern extremity of the United States, are, according to the best information that I can obtain, so situated as to be rather considered a part of the inhabitants of the State of Massachusetts than otherwise, and that State has always considered them as under its immediate care and protection. Any application, therefore, relative to those Indians, for the purposes mentioned in your memorial, would seem most proper to be made to the government of Massachusetts. The original letters on this subject, which were submitted to my inspection, have been returned to Mr. Charles Carroll.

Impressed as I am with an opinion, that the most effectual means of securing the permanent attachment of our savage neighbours is to convince them that we are just, and to show them that a proper and friendly intercourse with us would be for our mutual advantage, I cannot conclude without giving you my thanks for your pious and benevolent wishes to effect this desirable end, upon the mild principles of religion and philanthropy. And, when a proper occasion shall offer, I have no doubt but such measures will be pursued, as may seem best calculated to communicate liberal instruction, and the blessings of society, to their untutored minds. With very great esteem and regard, etc.⁷

Allan's letters to Carroll, of June 17, and June 28, 1792, from Boston, tell of the joy he experienced in learning that the Catholic Indians were to be blessed with a spiritual leader. The interest of the United States was concerned in this, he wrote, and the Republic would be benefitted by pacifying the Indians in a matter they cherished so dearly. On June 17, 1792, he wrote:

Rev'd. Sir: A very severe attack of the gout during the past winter, and the expectation of going Westward in the Spring, prevented my communicating some matter respecting the Indians. A speech was delivered in answer to your indulgent letter, with the several articles inclosed in the tin cover, all of which came safe to hand. The joy and thanksgiving exhibited is beyond my description. So warm did I experience their gratitude for the little I did, that no doubt could arise in the sincerity of their acknowledgm'ts. Near twenty families winter'd around my house, & I dare say not an address to the throne of Grace was passed without a remembrance of you, or myself during [my] indisposition. I will take a suitable time to prepare the particulars and transmit to you.

⁷ SPARKS, *Writings of Washington*, vol. x, pp. 228-229. Boston, 1836.

I left them about three weeks ago, very anxious and uneasy, constantly inquiring when a pastor might be expected.—I have just received a letter to inform me that a number of canoes from Canada, St. John's and Nova Scotia have arrived, many more coming—let me beg of you Rev'd Sir to hasten on the Gentleman intended for them—nothing would hurt my feelings more than a disappointment—the damage and expense to the Indians very great—give me leave to request a line from you on the subject. Permit me the liberty to observe the Interest of the United States is concerned in this. The extensive communication these Indians have with the Northern & Western tribes (which I presume is not known but to those who are conversant & particular acquainted with them), whatever attention may be paid them will in a degree have influence with others more distant, for during the late conflict with Britain, I had some with me as far as the Iroquois—reciprocal offices & types of friendship by marriage etc, has become universal, so that everything that passes is soon known thro' the whole tribe. The present evil day (Indian War) requires delicacy & circumspection, with the whole of this Colour—great conferences among us have taken place respecting the hostility in the Western country, news has been sent by Canada to them. I sincerely wish my circumstances permitted me to go among the present hostile Indians. I flatter myself from past success and experience to bring about a reconciliation, but this is troubling you, by going too far from my business and nature of correspondence; still I must be so free [as] to observe, that however I may be neglected and passed by, bro't to work for subsistence, in my decline of years, after making such a sacrifice of my Property in Nova Scotia by being concerned in the late war, I shall to the last moment, exert all my powers as a Citizen for the Interest of the United States.⁸

Attached to this letter was a second copy of the appeal made the year before to Dr. Carroll by the chiefs of the various tribes:

Right Rever'd Father

The chiefs, sachems & young men—the women & children of the several tribes of Indians, situated on St. John's Passamaquaddy, and other Rivers adjacent would address you with all humility, praying your acceptance of their unfeigned respect and dutiful obedience.

Father

It is to you we look for help, as children to a bountiful Father. It is long since we were blessed with the sight of a spiritual teacher. Great numbers of our Young are grown up, who have never received the sacred ordinance of Baptism. Our Women deprived of attending the Holy Rites of the Church, after child-birth, & all of us cover'd with multitudes of Transgressions.

Father

⁸ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Case 3-A1; printed in the Records, vol. xix, pp. 219-221.*



JOHN CARDINAL CHEVERUS

We have applied several times to our brothers the Americans. We have sent to the Fathers in the church of this state for a Priest, but none comes—it looks [as] if we were shut out from all the blessings and benefits of our Religion. We pray you, Father of the Church in this land, to think of us, & send one suitable for our purposes, to continue a year.—We wait, with anxious heart hoping a gracious answer.

Father

We speak for all the Indians, Northward & Westward as far as Canada. We all wish to be united with our brothers the Americans. Should a priest come there will be an assemblage of the whole tribes from the Bay Chelens to Penobscod. We have all been told that numbers of trading men have been trying to get a Priest for us, but as we know they have nothing else in view but what concerns trade, we fear they may encourage some person who is not qualify'd, which has been done already—therefore no attention must be paid any application but what comes from ourselves thro' the hands of our brother John Allan, who was our chief in the War.

In token of our sincerity and duty, we send with this the Holy Cross, by the consent & desire of all the tribes. *Done at the mouth of the River C— in the Bay of Passamaquaddy, this 17th day of May 1791.*⁹

Again, on July 28, 1792, Allan returned to the same subject. The United States was at war with the Indians in the West at the time, and it was highly desirable to keep peace with those tribes on our northern frontier:

Rev. Sir: I did myself the honour of writing you the 17th ulto, & wait impatiently for an answer. . . . I have received letters from Passamaquaddy, with messages from the Indians, which informs me that Nokosellet is among them—his conduct gives satisfaction to the Indians, as well as the Inhabitants.

Before I received this I had an interview with Mr. Thayer, who acquaints me there is not probability of any clergymen from France—he proposed going himself, if an Indian chief would come and give assurance (in behalf of the tribes) of such desire—upon receiving my letter I immediately gave intelligence to him—he still is willing to go, provided I persuade the Indians to leave Nokosellet. This is a matter too delicate and sacred for me to interfere in & might be the means of making trouble and confusion among them (which I wish to prevent all in my power) they are unacquainted and unaccustomed to such disputes. As the Indians have put themselves under your protection & received your acquiescence (however they may have deviated from rule and methods by the insinuating address of Nokosellet) I think it more illigible [*sic*] & expedient to do nothing more on the subject until your pleasure is known, of which I have notify'd Mr. Thayer.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Case 3-A2; printed in the *Records*, vol. xix, pp. 217-219.

In my last I hinted the advantage this attention to the Indians would be to the States. I am now confident of it. Tho' my circumstances oblig'd me to return to Publick life, diff't from the mode I was bro't up in, still my mind is greatly interested in the prosperity of our country. About the time your answer came to the Indians, we heard of the horrid scenes which happened at the Westward—my mind much agitated & distressed, on the evils impending, led me to examine into the state & situation of this business. It is not for me to say what may be the motives & reasons for carrying on this war; but if Pacific measures are necessary & desired to bring it to a conclusion, it is in the power of the States, at a small expense to do it, thro' this channel—the Indians, in our quarter may appear to some, contemptible, but I can assure such that however they may appear, their great experience, with the intercourse and connection with distant parts, makes them respectfull, formidable & maybe useful—this I fully experienced in the late contest. It is not in my power at present to communicate minutely every particular necessary to support this—I was determined to make a tryall (without suggesting to any person whatever). It has so far succeeded that by communicating at a distance, there was to be an assemblage of Indians to meet the priest, as well to have a conference on other matters. Several (supposed to be concerned in the late Tragedy) have sent for permission to come in—however this may be, a communication is open'd & can be easily keep'd up into that hostile country, which by prudent and careful management, might have a happy effect.

I thought it my duty to acquaint you of these circumstances. I have mentioned them to a few in this place but there seems a spirit for other pursuits than what concerns the publick weal. Whatever may be said against this, I know by long experience, it can be done, and all may end to our wish, if Peace is desired. Give me leave to urge your attention, respecting a Priest, at the same time requesting a line from you on the subject. I expect to proceed to Passamaquaddy in a few days, as the Indians are pressing for my return, there is some arriv'd from Canada.

P. S.—All business with Indians should be secret, both in regard to coming to the knowledge of opposite powers, as what concerns themselves, nothing permanent, can be established, or sure until the conclusion.¹⁰

Meanwhile, Bishop Carroll had written to the Indians (September 6, 1791) assuring them that he would send a priest to Maine as soon as one could be spared:

Brethren and Beloved Children in Jesus Christ:

I received with the greatest pleasure the testimony of your attachment to your holy religion, and I venerated the sacred crucifix, sent by you, as expressive of your faith.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Case 3-A4; printed in the *Records*, vol. xix, pp. 222-224.

Brethren and Children:

I embrace you with the affection of a father and am exceedingly desirous to procure for you a worthy teacher and minister of God's holy sanctuary, who may administer to your young people, to your sons and daughters, the sacrament of baptism; may instruct them and you in the law of God and the exercises of a Christian life; may reconcile you to God, your Lord and Maker, after all your transgressions and may perform for your women after childbirth, the rites ordained by the Church of Christ.

Brethren and Beloved Children:

As soon as I received your request, and was informed of your necessity, I sent for one or two virtuous and worthy priests to go and remain with you, that you may never more be reduced to the same distressed situation in which you have lived so long. But as they are far distant, I am afraid they will not be with you before the putting out of the leaves again. This should have been done much sooner, if I had been informed of your situation. You may depend on it, that shall be always in my heart and in my mind; and if it please God to give me time, I will certainly visit you myself.

Brethren and Beloved Children:

I trust in that good God, who made us all, and in His Blessed Son, Jesus Christ, who redeemed us, that all the Indians, northward and eastward, will be made partakers of the blessing which my desire is to procure for you; and I rejoice very much that they and you wish to be united with your brethren the Americans. You have done very well not to receive amongst you those ministers who go without being called, or sent by that authority which Jesus Christ has established for the government of His Church. Those whom I shall send to you will be such good and virtuous priests as instructed your forefathers in the law of God, and taught them to regard this life only as a preparation for and a passage to a better life in heaven.

In token of my fatherly love and sincere affection I send back to you, after embracing it, the Holy Crucifix which I received with your letter; and I enclose it in a picture of Our Holy Father the Pope, the Head on Earth, under Christ, of our Divine Religion; and this my answer is accompanied likewise with nine medals, representing our Divine Lord Jesus Christ, and His most Holy Mother. I desire these may be received by the Chiefs of the River St. John's, Passamaquaddy, and Micmacs, who signed the address to me. They came from and have received the blessing of our Holy Father the Vicar of Jesus Christ in the Government of the Church.

That the blessing of God may come down upon you, your women and children, and may remain forever, is the earnest prayer of

Your loving Father, friend and servant in

Jesus Christ,

✠ JOHN, Bishop of Baltimore.¹¹

¹¹ Printed in *Researches*, vol. xvi, pp. 117-118.

Finally, after the arrival of Father Ciquard, Bishop Carroll wrote again in a style similar to the simple and childlike letter he had received from the Indians, telling them that at last a priest was on the way to them:

My Dear Brethren and Children in J. C.

I promised to you last year that I would immediately endeavour to procure a worthy pastor for your souls, to give to your children the holy rites of baptism, to administer to yourselves the sacrament of reconciliation & exercise all the other functions of the ministry.

Brothers:

It was not possible for me to obtain one so soon as I desired; many difficulties were first to be overcome. At length, however, thro' the goodness of our best Father, God himself, I have procured and send you one who will carry you this letter.

Dear Brothers:

In him you may put the utmost reliance. He will renew in your hearts those sentiments & the same good customs of prayer & the service of God, which some of you yet remember in your good Fathers of former days. Hear his counsels, & you will be virtuous here and happy hereafter.

Brothers:

He will not be afraid of, but will partake with yourselves of all hardships. He seeks no reward from you but the salvation of your souls. He will content himself with a very moderate subsistence such as necessity requires but as he has been at great expense to go to you, I hope that you will by degrees, and as you get able, make him some compensation for this expense.

Brothers:

Him you are to receive as the only person appointed to give you the Sacraments of Holy Church, to instruct you in the ways that lead to a virtuous life here & to happiness in heaven. My most fervent prayer shall be that you all obtain that blessing; and I beseech you to pray that I may be your companion hereafter in the enjoyment of eternal bliss.¹²

Father Francis Ciquard remained with the Indians from 1792 until the arrival of Abbé Cheverus in 1796. For five years Father Matignon struggled alone in the missions of New England, with Boston as a centre for his sacerdotal work. Among his former students in France was a young priest, then in exile in England, Father John Lefebvre de Cheverus, then in his twenty-seventh year. Father Matignon needed assistance for the scat-

¹² *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-A3; printed in the *Records*, vol. xix, pp. 221-222; cf. *Puritans and Indian Missions*, by G. F. O'DWYER, in *America*, vol. xxvi, pp. 275-276 (January 7, 1922).

tered missions of his vast parish, which was coterminous with the present New England States, and accordingly he wrote to Cheverus, soliciting his help for these missions.

John Cheverus, New England's first Catholic bishop, was born at Mayenne, France, on January 28, 1768. At a very early age, as was then the custom in France, he received tonsure, the mark of his selection for the ecclesiastical state; and while still a youth, he was nominated to a benefice and was entered in the College of Louis-le-Grand at Paris. After completing his classical studies, he entered the Seminary of St. Magloire, Paris, where he had as fellow-students the famous preacher, Abbé McCarthy and the future Bishop Dubois of New York. On December 18, 1790, Cheverus was ordained to the priesthood and was sent to assist his uncle, the parish-priest of Mayenne. After his uncle's death (January, 1792) Father Cheverus was given the parish and was appointed Vicar-General of the Diocese of Mans. The Revolutionists soon marked him as a victim, and Cheverus was obliged to flee to England, where he arrived in September, 1792. It was here, in the capacity of private tutor to the children of a Catholic nobleman, that Father Matignon's letter found him. He concluded to accept the offer of his friend and set out for America, arriving in Boston on October 3, 1796. His first duty was to announce his arrival to Bishop Carroll, and in a characteristic letter written after his arrival, he says: "Send me where you think I am most needed, without making yourself anxious about the means of my support. I am willing to work with my hands, if need be."¹³ At first, Bishop Carroll desired to place the young French priest at St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia. But he begged permission to decline, being unwilling to forsake his friend Father Matignon. Dr. Carroll allowed him to remain in Boston, but placed under his care the Indians of Maine.¹⁴ When the General Court of the State of Massachusetts awarded (1798) an annual salary of two hundred dollars for a Catholic

¹³ Cheverus to Carroll, Boston, January 26, 1797, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-M9. For a bibliography on Cheverus, cf. *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. v, pp. 292-293. The best biographies of this first American Cardinal are: HAMON, *Vie du Cardinal Cheverus*, Paris, 1837, translated by STEWART, Boston, 1839; DU BOURG, *Cardinal De Cheverus*, translated by WALSH, Philadelphia, 1839. Cf. also *My Unknown Chum* by "AGUECHERE" (New York, 1917).

¹⁴ Cf. *United States Catholic Magazine*, vol. iv, p. 263.

missionary to care for these Indians, Father Ciquard had already left for Canada, and Father Cheverus now took up the work systematically, visiting the Indians every year until his elevation to the episcopate. His letters to Dr. Matignon from Pleasant Point, Me., and from Penobscot, Me., contain interesting sidelights upon the life of these Catholic Indians. In 1797, he decided to send to London for Father Romagné, a refugee French priest, who was also born in Mayenne, and who arrived in 1799, and remained for eighteen years ministering to them.

One untoward incident marred the generous welcome accorded Father Cheverus by the non-Catholics of New England. While in Maine, in January of 1800, in the performance of his duty, he married two Catholics. The law of Massachusetts (of which the district of Maine was then a part) prohibited all marriages except before a Protestant minister or a justice of the peace. Father Cheverus advised the couple to have this civil ceremony performed the following day. The Attorney-General of the State, James Sullivan, was the son of Catholic parents, but had fallen away from the Church. He seemed moved to hostility against the religion of his parents, and instituted of his own accord legal proceedings against Father Cheverus, who was arrested in October, 1800, and brought to trial at Wicasset. Two of the judges, Bradbury and Strong, were rather vehement in their denunciation of the gentle priest, the former threatening him with the pillory. Cheverus was quite undismayed in the presence of this brutality; he had seen specimens of it in Paris in the days of the Jacobins, and he fought the case to the end. The civil action was finally allowed to go by default. The Constitution of Massachusetts did not at that time contain a clause granting tolerance in religious affairs. The judges of the Supreme Court unanimously declared at Boston (March 5, 1801): "The Constitution obliges every one to contribute for the support of Protestant ministers, and them alone. Papists are only tolerated, and as long as their ministers behave well, we shall not disturb them; but let them expect no more than that."¹⁵

¹⁵ Cheverus to Carroll, Boston, March 10, 1801, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-N3; Matignon to Carroll, Boston, March 16, 1801, *ibid.*, Case 5G-4: "The Judge declared the word *Protestant* was also understood before the word *Minister*." The Matignon-Carroll correspondence on this case is printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 198-205.

Fathers Matignon and Cheverus were providential men during these days when the last embers of the old Puritan bigotry were dying out. Both were uncommon characters. Their piety, their blameless lives, and their thorough disinterestedness won the good-will of all their neighbours in the old Puritan stronghold; and especially were Cheverus' brilliant mind and innate refinement prized by the leading social and intellectual families of the city. He became an American citizen and identified himself in all public movements. At a banquet given by the State to President John Adams, Father Cheverus was placed next to the distinguished guest. "The whole population began to know him," says one writer, "some on one side, some on another, of his large personality. Before long, with no effort, by the magic of simple friendliness, he had laid the Puritan community under something like a spell."¹⁶ Besides the two pastors of the Boston mission, there were other priests from time to time in New England. Father John Thayer was at Hartford in 1796, and in 1797 Canon Sougé resided there as Chaplain to Vicomte de Sibert Cornillon; in 1798, he was joined by another French refugee, Father Tisserand.

From one of Father Matignon's letters at this date (April, 1798), we learn that within one year (1797-1798) the number of baptisms was 81, marriages 17, deaths 14, and Easter Communions 249.¹⁷

<i>Baptisms</i>	<i>Marriages</i>	<i>Deaths</i>	<i>Easter Communions</i>
Boston:	17	14	1798
30 children			Boston 210 About
7 adults			Plymouth 15
Other Places:			Newbury 21
30 children			Salem 3
1 adult			<hr/>
Among the Indians:			249
13 children			

Unfortunately, these statistics are of little value for estimating the number of Catholics under the care of Matignon and Cheverus. Shea gives total Catholic population as between six and

¹⁶ LEAHY, *The Archdiocese of Boston, in the History of the Catholic Church in the New England States* (2 vols., Boston, 1899), vol. i, p. 27.

¹⁷ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 5-G9; printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, p. 193.

seven hundred. There was comparatively little change in the condition of the Church in New England from this time down to the consecration of Cheverus as first Bishop of Boston. The lease held by the Catholics on the building in School Street, which served as their church, was about to expire in 1799, and the growth of the congregation warranted their securing a larger house of worship. On March 31, 1789, a meeting was held and a committee of seven was formed to consider plans for building a new church. A subscription was opened, Fathers Matignon and Cheverus acting as treasurers, and both non-Catholics and Catholics quickly responded to the appeal of the two priests, who enjoyed a singular popularity with all classes. President John Adams, who had a high regard for Cheverus, headed a special list of subscribers.¹⁸ In all, some sixteen thousand dollars were collected. On May 2, 1799, Matignon wrote to Carroll of their success up to that date:

My Lord:

At last I have the satisfaction of being able to tell you that a subscription has been opened among our Catholics for the purchase of the ground and for the building of a church in this city. The subscription amounts to nearly \$4,000, of which a little over \$1000 is already paid, the rest to be given between now and next October. The sum will probably be scarcely enough to pay for the ground; we shall be fortunate if we can get for that amount a lot that is suitable and in a convenient location. For there is hardly a corner to be found here that is not built upon, unless we go to the remotest parts of the city, which would be a great disadvantage. We hope for some help from the people of the city; but as since the death of Mr. Russell we have no one who is remarkable for generosity, this help will likely not amount to much. Our consul (Spanish) thinks that he can get a thousand dollars from the King of Spain through his family influence, if communication become freer. God grant that that poor kingdom may not be destroyed before that time!

You are, my lord, the father of your entire flock, and as you have shown in many circumstances the tenderest interest in your poor faithful children of Boston, we have no doubt but that you will be anxious to help us by all the means in your power, and that you, much more than any one else, will be convinced of the great importance of the success of this enterprise. Without a church here there will probably be in a few years no longer any congregation, and hopes for the progress of the faith throughout the state will end in smoke; whereas if we have a church, decent in appearance and of sufficient size, whilst we have Mr. Cheverus here,

¹⁸ *United States Catholic Magazine*, vol. iv, p. 263.

there is reason to hope that God will bless his indefatigable labors by more numerous conversions and more important ones than the small number that have taken place up to the present time.

In accordance with your advice I have written to Mr. Du Bourg to ask him if he will undertake to do some collecting for us at Havana; I have had no answer; I do not know if he have started. The only other place, outside the United States, from which we can hope for anything, is Martinique. Mr. Cheverus and I have already written there with this object. But in order that the affair may be done in a regular manner and with greater success, it is essential that we address to our ecclesiastical superiors, and perhaps to the government authorities, a request supported by your recommendation and under your seal. So as not to double or triple the postage, I have written some points on the following page. Will you please, my lord, after having made whatever changes and additions that you may judge proper, have three copies inscribed by one of the gentlemen of the Seminary, to which add in your own hand whatever you think it necessary to say that would be most effectual by way of recommendation, and after having appended your seal, send them to us by the first boat, or other safe opportunity. We have great assurance that your recommendation will not be without fruit. Mr. Cheverus received in due time the consecrated (altar) stones, and he as well as I make our grateful acknowledgments to you. The little congregation at Newbury Port has experienced a great diminution through the departure for the islands of four or five French families of whom Mr. Cheverus had made fervent Christians. He proposes to return in about a month to visit his beloved Indians. No news from England yet about a missionary. Our governor (Mr. Sumner) is in the last extremity, with no hope for his recovery. He is a great loss to us; he was universally respected, and rich, and his name at the head of a subscription for us, would have had great influence. The lieutenant governor who will succeed him until May next is a close man and of limited capacity.

Your humble and obedient servant,

MATIGNON.¹⁹

The printed circular asking for subscriptions makes an earnest appeal on the score that "this country is probably destined to serve as an asylum for the Catholic religion, persecuted in Europe."²⁰ No church existed at the time "in the five United States that compose New England;" and in the joint letter sent by Matignon and Cheverus to Carroll, on March 19, 1800, we learn that within the short space of a year, through the liberality of the citizens of Boston, they were ready to begin building the first

¹⁹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 5-G11; printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 193-195.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Case 5-H1; printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, p. 196.

Catholic Church in Massachusetts.²¹ Dr. Carroll was invited to lay the cornerstone, but owing to the outbreak of yellow fever in Baltimore, he was unable to go to Boston until the completion of the church two years later.

The Church of the Holy Cross, as the edifice was called, was completed in 1803, and on September 29, of that year, Bishop Carroll, who had journeyed to Boston for the occasion, dedicated the new house of worship. Cheverus preached the sermon, and tradition has it that Carroll was so overcome by his eloquence that tears covered his face when Cheverus concluded his discourse. No doubt, another reason which induced Carroll to make the long journey to Boston was the fact that Cheverus was then contemplating a return to his own diocese in France. He wrote to Carroll on May 3, 1803, stating that he had been asked to return, not only by his own family, but by the Vicar-General of Mans:

Rt. Rev. Sir:

My mind is perplexed with doubts, my heart full of trouble and anxieties. Duty, respect and confidence bid me apply to you for advice and comfort. I received last week a letter from the Vicar-General of the ancient Bishop of Mans who died three years hence. On the decease of the Bishop this same Vicar-General was appointed by the Sacred College Apostolic Vicar to govern the diocese, *sede vacante*, and now the new Bishop of Mans has made him his Vicar-General. His letter to me is dated June 10, 1802. Three copies of it have been sent, only one has come to hands and not till last week. He writes as follows:

Il n'est plus temps de balancer. Nous avons un très bon Évêque, Mons. Pidot, Suffragant de Trèves. Il va incessamment prendre possession. Il s'occupera à fixer les limites des paroisses, et aussitôt après ce travail il nommera les curés. Votre intention n'est pas de renoncer à votre patrie et à votre Diocèse. Je vous somme en conséquence de votre parole; et je vous prie de partir aussitôt la présente reçue pour venir vous réunir à nous. Il s'agit de rétablir la Religion dans notre pays, et vous y êtes nécessaire; n'hésitez donc pas, je vous prie.

He alludes to what I wrote to him, before the articles of the Concordat were known. He then begged of me to return to my parish, but I answered, that being usefully employed here and being exposed to find

²¹ Cf. DEVIET, *Boston's First Catholic Church*, in the *Records*, vol. xv, pp. 35-45. The joint letter (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 5-H2) is printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 197-198.

another Pastor appointed in my place, I thought it better to defer my return, although it was not my intention to forsake either my country or my Diocese. My Father and other relatives who have written to me and begged of me to return to France immediately, call the letter of Mr. Duperrier a positive order from my Ecclesiastical Superior; but for my part I do not see any such order in it, but merely a strong invitation. My Father says: Si un Père pouvait avoir encore de l'autorité sur son cher fils, ce serait l'occasion de s'en servir et de le sommer . . . pour venir se joindre à une famille qui le désire depuis si longtemps et à un Père à qui il donnerait dix années de plus. . . . In consequence of these letters I had resolved to return to France next May, and was going to write to you upon the subject, but the whole congregation here have shown such a grief, and have so strongly represented the case to me that I have promised, if you think I can do it conscientiously, to stay at least until next Autumn. Even, if in your opinion, the good of Religion requires my presence here, I am very willing to remain in this mission. I shall beg the Almighty to give myself and my dear Father the strength to make this sacrifice to him. Dr. Matignon will give no advice in this case, where, he says, his heart feels too interested, he confines himself to Prayer that I may remain here.

For the present be so kind as to write whether you think I can at least wait until next autumn. The rest will be settled when we shall have the happiness to see you in Boston. The hope of seeing you then, would be a sufficient motive to put off my going to France, if I can do it. I must observe that I am uncertain whether I am reappointed to my former station and under the present circumstances, I do not wish it, have even some objections to the oath, tho' after the decision of the Holy See, I think, I would, if necessary get over that difficulty. Last year forced by the importunities of my Father I promised to go and at least pay him a visit this Spring, but then I had no idea the Church should be fit to be consecrated and that we would be honored with your visit. You have the goodness to express the wish to be personally acquainted with me, and I assure you that I shall think it a happy day when I shall have the opportunity to pay you my respects. As I wish to write soon to the Abbé Duperrier and my Father, I hope your known condescension will excuse me if I presume to request the favour of a speedy answer. Begging your prayer and blessing, I have the honor to be with the most profound respect, etc.²²

On April 29, 1803, he wrote to Carroll again saying that after mature consideration he had decided to remain in America.²³ From this time until his election as Bishop of Boston in 1808, no letters exist in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives from either

²² *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case a-N4; printed in the *Records*, vol. xxiii, pp. 189-191.

²³ *Ibid.*, Case a-N5.

Matignon or Cheverus, upon which an historical account of the growth of the Church in New England might be based. There were congregations at Salem, Newburyport in Massachusetts; Damariscotta, Portland, Newcastle, and Pleasant Point, in Maine; at Portsmouth in New Hampshire; at Providence and Bristol in Rhode Island; and at New Haven, Hartford, and New London, in Connecticut. These existed before the year of Carroll's death, since evidence exists for Cheverus' visitation of these towns. But the real growth of the Church in New England must be traced to his successor, Bishop Benedict Joseph Fenwick (1823-1846).

After his consecration as first Bishop of Boston, Dr. Cheverus returned to his episcopal city and took up the old routine of duty without changing in the slightest his simple mode of life.

Among the qualities which made him a fortunate interpreter [*of Catholic life*] to the Puritans was his aversion to luxury. He had seen the gorgeous civilization of France fall to pieces by its own weakness and he knew the hollowness of pomp. It was by poverty and simplicity that the creed of Christ had won its earliest triumphs. He strove to bring himself daily nearer to these virtues of its Founder. His episcopal house was a two-story cottage; his reception room the chamber in which he slept. When the chairs were all occupied, visitors sat on the bed. His dress was almost shabby. He rarely took more than one meal a day, and he studied all winter without a fire in his room. Even in his later years, when he was a Cardinal and a peer of France, he absolutely refused to own a carriage. Yet people flocked to his barren threshold. The man interested them more than trappings and furniture. A bishop who chopped his own wood was, at least, a good democrat, and might bring a message worth heeding.²⁴

Shortly after his consecration Bishop Cheverus received a letter of congratulation from Bishop Plessis of Quebec (January 6, 1811), in which the Boston prelate was appointed a vicar-general of the Canadian diocese, and in which Plessis asked for a similar concession for himself. This was to facilitate the exercise of episcopal jurisdiction along the borders of the two contiguous dioceses:

Monseigneur:

A young notary of this city, Canadian-born and Catholic, of the highest respectability as you will judge for yourself when you have seen him,

²⁴ LEAHY, *ut supra*, p. 31.

has requested me to recommend him to your Lordship to whom he intends to pay his respects in the course of a few weeks' trip he is making in the United States.

I reproach myself, Monseigneur, with not having sooner satisfied the desire I felt to congratulate you on your accession to the episcopate, or rather, to congratulate your diocesans for having at their head a Pastor according to God's heart, whose piety and enlightenment will place on a good footing their new-born church. Judging by the difficulties of every nature offered me by a Diocese established 137 years ago, I well understand how many your Lordship will encounter in establishing a diocese which is still in a fallow condition and under a government of a different religion. But divine Providence whose will it is that the Kingdom of God wrested from several nations of Europe be transferred to America, will render even your ways and will arm you with a courage proportionate to the contradictions inseparable from our labouring ministry.

I have requested, Monseigneur, the Archbishop, to be so kind as to acquaint me with the divisions of the new Diocese so as to know those bordering on mine. I have also asked him to tell me who was the administrator of that of New York. His answer has not yet reached me. But, as I have no doubt that your diocese and mine are coterminous in the direction of New Brunswick and apparently in several other places, I take the liberty of addressing you the letters of a Vicar-General, which will also be common to all your Vicars-General, so as to avoid inconveniences arising from uncertainty or a want of jurisdiction. The only extraordinary powers I am empowered to communicate and to which the enclosed Commission alludes, are those in 29 articles which the Holy See is accustomed to give to Missionaries Apostolic and which your Lordship has doubtless received as well as I. I trust, Monseigneur, that you will have the goodness of appointing me your Vicar-General, and that my Vicars-General will share in the same favour. As we are united by the bonds of a same commission and of a same priesthood, nothing will be more agreeable to me, in any and every case than to correspond with your Lordship, and to be often able to repeat the sentiments of esteem and veneration with which I remain etc.²⁵

Bishop Cheverus received this letter on January 20, 1811, and immediately penned a reply, of which the following is a translation:

Monseigneur:

It was between Mass and Vespers that M. Bisserrer came to bring me the despatches from your Lordship. You may be assured that in his behalf and in that of any body else you may recommend to me I shall be happy to do all in my power.

²⁵ *Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec, États-Unis, 7,240; printed in the Recherches, vol. xxix, pp. 15-17.*

I received with respect and gratitude the faculties you were kind enough to communicate to me. I have already made use of them by communicating them to M. Romagné, a respectable priest who is here, but will soon leave Boston, and who lives with the Indians at Passamaquoddy, on the frontier of the United States and of New Brunswick. M. Duvert, who leaves tomorrow morning at four o'clock does not give me time to send you official letters like those with which you have honoured me. I shall do so on the first occasion, and I pray you meanwhile to consider as sufficient the request I make you to look upon such faculties as being granted and to deign to accept all the powers I am entitled to communicate to Your Lordship and to Your Vicar-General. My lately consecrated colleagues and myself have received the 29 articles which you mention, and moreover the faculty of dispensing from the impediment between sponsor and godchild, of reciting Matins every day of the year at two o'clock in the afternoon, of granting permission to read and to keep prohibited books, provided this faculty be used sparingly, and with the exception of obscene books and several others described by name.

I will try to obtain from Baltimore, a copy of the Bull indicating the limits of the different dioceses, and I will try to have it sent to you. My diocese touches yours East by the District of Maine towards the frontier of New Brunswick, North by the State of Vermont, and in the Northwest of the district of Maine on the frontier of Canada. My diocese comprises the whole of New England, namely, Massachusetts and Maine, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Vermont. The Diocese of New York which also touches yours, embraces all the states of New York and a part of New Jersey. The Diocese of Philadelphia does not touch you. It comprises all Pennsylvania, Delaware, and the southern portion of New Jersey. The Diocese of Bardstown in Kentucky includes all the Western territory from Louisiana to the Northern lakes, like Erie and Huron, and is, consequently, one of your neighbours, at least so I think, for I don't remember exactly the limits of that immense diocese. That of Baltimore comprises Maryland, Virginia, the two Carolinas and Georgia.

The Vicar-General at New York, *sede vacante*, is Mr. Kohlmann, pastor of the Church of New York. He is a holy priest and most zealous. I shall write to him and he will give without delay the faculties you desire. I am also going to write to Monseigneur Flaget, Bishop of Bardstown, who will leave for his diocese early in the spring. He intends, I believe, to bring M. Vegina who edified everybody at the Seminary of Baltimore, where I saw him myself during four weeks. Monseigneur the Archbishop had written to you concerning him and was expecting an answer. He had received him on November 19th when I left him. [*I am rather*] a Bishop *in partibus*, than a Bishop with a [*diocese*]. God grant that I may do some good. When passing through New York I gave confirmation. I have an immense field to cultivate, but, as you say, it is fallow, and I have, at the present moment, only two fellow labourers to help me to clear it. My very dear and very worthy friend, M. Matignon,

asks me to present you his respects. I beg of you a share in your prayers and holy sacrifices and I have the honor to be with deep respect, etc.²⁶

On February 11, 1811, Bishop Cheverus conferred equal rights and privileges upon the Ordinary of Quebec:

To all those who may these presents behold, be it known that as the Diocese of Boston (to the government of which, howsoever incapable and unworthy, We have been elected and canonically consecrated) borders upon the Diocese of Quebec, and it has pleased the most Illustrious and Reverend Lord Bishop of Quebec to create and appoint Us his Vicar-General. We, desiring to give a token of our gratefulness and of our profound veneration to the said most illustrious Prelate, and providing at the same time for the needs of our Diocesans, earnestly and beseechingly pray the most illustrious and Reverend Joseph Octave Plessis, Bishop of Quebec, to deign to bear the title and to assume the duties of our Vicar-General, and, by these presents, according to the best and most efficacious form, right, way and manner within our capacity, we create and constitute him our Vicar-General so that on all our diocesans, wheresoever they may be found, he may, either by himself, or, in those matters that do not require the episcopal order by his Vicars-General, exercise the same jurisdiction as we ourselves exercise towards them either according to ordinary law, or by a special Indult of the Holy Apostolic See, inasmuch as it is communicable, promising that We shall ratify whatsoever shall have been acted, ordained or desired by the said Most Illustrious and Reverend Lord Joseph Octave Plessis, Bishop of Quebec, in his aforesaid quality of Vicar-General, or by his Vicars-General, either within or beyond the limits of our Diocese.

In testimony whereof we have delivered this present letter under our Seal and Signature at Boston, New England, on the eleventh day of February, in the year one thousand eight hundred and eleven.

✠ JOHN, *Bishop of Boston*.²⁷

The juridic effect of this interchange of canonical power was that both bishops might give faculties to the priests of both dioceses. Plessis and Cheverus were to meet in 1815, when the Ordinary of Quebec made a visit to the United States. As early as 1812, Bishop Plessis had planned such a journey, but the outbreak of the war deferred his visit until the summer of 1815. On May 22, 1815, Cheverus wrote to Plessis:

Monseigneur:

A letter which Mr. Ryan, bearer of the present, handed me on the part of Mr. Burke, allows me to expect the happiness of seeing you here this

²⁶ *Ibid.*, *États-Unis, Diocèse de Boston*, p. 17.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, l. c., pp. 18-19 (G. 216).

summer. I greatly desire to know at about what time you calculate to be here; it would cruelly disappoint me to be absent, and to miss the precious occasion of becoming personally acquainted with Your Lordship. It is only to an Apostolic prelate that I may offer a cell in my little dwelling, and, I, therefore, do not hesitate in offering it to you and hope you will accept it. I will receive you as well as I can and in the joy of my heart. I have just returned from New York where I presided at the dedication of the beautiful Cathedral Church of St. Patrick. As the New York papers reach Quebec, you have no doubt read a description of the ceremony. They daily expect the Right Reverend John Connolly who was consecrated in Rome Bishop of New York in the month of November last. He is a Dominican and has lived in Rome 37 years. My worthy and venerable fellow-worker, M. Matignon, presents his respects to Your Lordship and rejoices with me in the hope of seeing you here. Please honour me with a word through Mr. Ryan. I have the honour to be, &c.²⁸

We have an account of this visit in Henri Têtu's *Visites Pastorales par Mgr. J. Octave Plessis, Evêque de Québec*.²⁹ Plessis visited Father Romagné at Pleasant Point, Maine, in August, 1815, and from that town set out for Boston. Here he was entertained by Matignon and Cheverus in the bishop's house, close to the cathedral. "These two worthy ecclesiastics," he says in the diary of his visit, "by their virtues, their talents, their hospitality, and their politeness have overcome the prejudices of Protestants, and have attracted many to their congregation, which is on the whole very edifying, and their new converts persevere fervently."³⁰ One of these converts, Thomas Walley, of Brookline, entertained the distinguished visitor, and here Plessis met Father Brosius, who was then conducting a private school near Harvard College. From Boston, Bishop Plessis set out on September 7, for New York City, stopping at Worcester, Hartford, and New Haven, where he noted the preparations for the Commencement at Yale College. From New Haven he journeyed by sea aboard the steamboat *Fulton*, and arrived at New York on September 9th. There he remained for several days, jotting down in his diary valuable historical data for the future historian of that city.

Bishop Cheverus was to rule the Diocese of Boston for eight years after the death of Archbishop Carroll, and had he been able during that time to dispose of a score of priests for his

²⁸ *Ibid.*, l. c., p. 22.

²⁹ Quebec, 1903; cf. *Records*, vol. xv, pp. 372a.

³⁰ Cf. *Records*, vol. xviii, p. 44.

extensive diocese, there is little doubt that religion would have made much greater progress. It was, in fact, only after Carroll's death that Dr. Cheverus received his first missionary recruits, such as Father Denis Ryan, Philip Lariscy, O.S.A., Paul McQuade, Patrick Byrne, William Taylor, and Virgil Barber—all pioneers in the upbuilding of the great Church of the present-day New England. Cheverus had resisted the entreaties of his friends in France to return when Catholic worship was restored there in 1801, and in 1816, when the question arose of naming a coadjutor to Archbishop Neale, the Metropolitan of Baltimore urged him to accept the nomination. His desire to remain with his flock in Boston was granted, and Maréchal was selected instead. The traditional story that, with the return of the Bourbons to the throne, Louis XVIII, who had known and befriended Cheverus as a boy, had him nominated in 1822 to the See of Montauban, is not altogether correct. It would seem, rather, that Cheverus, who had begun to feel the burden of age and the fatigue of so many years in the arduous missions of New England, decided to return of his own accord, without announcing that fact to the authorities in France. Some time after his return he was appointed to the insignificant See of Montauban, and three years later he was transferred to the Archbishopric of Bordeaux. Charles X made him a peer of the realm, and on February 1, 1835, he was created cardinal. He died at Bordeaux, July 19, 1836.

Such was the man whom the non-Catholics of Boston called "a blessing and a treasure in our social community." They joined in the protest to the Church of France, which they believed had coveted Cheverus for so long, declaring that they could not part with him, for "without injustice to any man, we may affirm," they wrote, "if withdrawn from us, he can never be replaced."

CHAPTER XXXI
THE SUFFRAGAN SEES: II. NEW YORK
(1790-1815)

The history of the Catholic Church in New York State during the first twenty years of Carroll's episcopate (1790-1810) centres around that valiant missionary, Father William O'Brien, of the Order of Friars Preacher. The year of Carroll's consecration saw the end of the notorious quarrel between the factions devoted to the two Irish Capuchins, Nugent and Whelan, and with Father O'Brien's appointment as pastor of St. Peter's Church (1787) there began an era of domestic peace, which was not to be disturbed for many long years. For the next two decades, Father O'Brien, with his brother, Father Matthew O'Brien, Fathers McMahon, Mahony, Flynn, Matignon, Fitzsimons, Byrne, Bourke, Bushe, Sibourd, and others of whom there are but faint records in our annals, laboured amongst the scattered Catholics of New York and New Jersey. St. Peter's Church was the centre of this widespread activity. As pastor of St. Peter's, Father William O'Brien governed the Church in New York City so admirably that Dr. Carroll's letters are filled with praise for the Irish Dominican. His loyalty to Bishop Carroll gained for him the enmity of the erratic pamphleteers, Fathers Poterie and Smyth. In order to complete the interior of St. Peter's Church, Father O'Brien obtained Dr. Carroll's permission to make a visit to Mexico City, where his former classmate at Bologna, Archbishop Alonzo Núñez de Haro was metropolitan, with the result that he brought back some six thousand dollars in donations and several handsome paintings for the adornment of the Church. He was not present at the Synod of November 7-11, 1791, and so was probably absent about a year. During this time, Father Nicholas Bourke, who, according to Shea, was drowned in February, 1800, officiated at St. Peter's.¹ Some time after Father

¹ SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 429.

William O'Brien's return he wrote to his brother, Matthew, who was also a Dominican, and then living in Ireland, asking him to come out to assist in the work of caring for the faithful in New York City and State. Father Matthew O'Brien came to America probably in 1798, and Dr. Carroll appointed him to the congregation in Albany. He was a man of erudition and an attractive preacher. In those days the sentiment of the Catholics was rather outspoken in the matter of pulpit oratory; and the pastor of Albany pleased his flock so much that they readily voted him all the financial support he needed for his church, parish school and residence. Dr. O'Brien was offered a parish in Natchez by Bishop Carroll on September 23, 1799,² when that territory was ceded to the United States by Spain, and there are several letters in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives from the trustees of Albany (November 10, 27, 1799) protesting against his departure.³ His successors in the Albany parish (between 1799-1808) were Rev. Dr. Mahony, Luke Fitzsimons, John Byrne, and James Bushe. The congregation was made up almost exclusively of Irish immigrants, and they had little respect for a clergyman unless he were a good preacher.

It was in St. Peter's Church in March, 1805, that Father Matthew O'Brien received Mrs. Seton into the fold, and it was there she made her first Communion on March 25 of the same year. A very serious riot occurred at St. Peter's on Christmas Eve, 1806. It originated, as we learn from the *American Register*, with "a desperate association of unprincipled men, calling themselves *Highbinders*, who under pretence of demolishing houses of ill fame, commit the most disorderly practices upon peaceable and unoffending citizens."⁴ A group of fifty of these banditti assembled in front of St. Peter's, hoping to create a disturbance at midnight Mass. The next evening the rioters attacked the locality where the Catholics were then residing, and one man, a watchman, was killed. This aroused the fury of the mob, and only the presence of the Mayor, DeWitt Clinton, saved the Catholics from further outrage.

This same year (1806) saw the repeal of the last intolerant

² *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 5-U1.

³ *Ibid.*, Case 11-L7-9; printed in the *Researches*, vol. viii, pp. 60-63.

⁴ Cf. *Researches*, vol. xvi, pp. 149-150.

clause in the New York State Constitution. The law of 1700 against "Popish Priests and Jesuits" was repealed by the Legislature in 1784, but the clause requiring an oath for public officials, which no Catholic could in conscience take, was passed in 1801, and remained a law of the State until 1806, when, on the occasion of the election of Francis Cooper, a Catholic, to the State Assembly, a petition asking for its repeal was drafted by the trustees of St. Peter's Church.⁵ On June 23, 1805, the trustees, who then included such prominent citizens as Thomas Stoughton, Andrew Morris and Cornelius Heeney, wrote to Dr. Carroll requesting an assistant priest for St. Peter's: "In consequence of the pleasing circumstance of the daily growth of the congregation of St. Peter's Church, which keeps pace with the rapid extension of the city of New York, they find it morally impossible that one clergyman, however active, zealous and diligent, can attend to all the functions and important duties required by so numerous a Congregation."⁶ Carroll's reply to this letter has not been found, but it would appear that he sent the Rev. Louis Sibourd to New York to assist Father O'Brien. The following year we find the trustees writing again, on March 9, 1807, asking Carroll to remove the "little Doctor," because of his lack of facility in English.⁷ The following year the German Catholics of the city sent a formal petition to Bishop Carroll asking for a priest of their race, or at least one who could minister to them in the German tongue. On this petition (March 2, 1808) Dr. Carroll took no action, knowing that the division of the Diocese of Baltimore had already been decided upon and that it was a matter to be dealt with by New York's Bishop. This petition is an exception both in spirit and in tone from those Carroll had grown accustomed to:

Right Reverend Father in God.

We the undersigned for ourselves and a considerable number of our German Brethren, who are all educated in the holy Catholick faith,

⁵ Hurley to Carroll, New York, January 6, 1806. *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 4-G8-9; cf. *A Memorial of Penal Times in New York, in the United States Catholic Magazine*, vol. vi, pp. 394-395; HENRY, Stephen Girard, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. iv, p. 280.

⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case II-L3. For an interesting estimate of Cornelius Heeney, cf. *A Self-effaced Philanthropist: Cornelius Heeney (1754-1848)*, by MEEHAN, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. iv, pp. 3-17.

⁷ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-E2.

approach your Reverence and pray you to allow and send us a Pastor who is capable of undertaking the spiritual care of our Souls in the German Language, which is our Mother Tongue. Many of us do not know any English at all, and those who have some knowledge of it, are not well enough versed in the English Language as to attend Divine Service with any utility to themselves. As we have not yet a place of worship of our own we have made application to the Trustees of the English Catholic Church in this City to grant us Permission to perform our worship in the German Language in their Church, at such times as not to interfere with their regular Services. This permission they have readily granted us. During the course of this year we shall take care to find an opportunity, to provide ourselves with a building of our own, for we have no doubt that our number will soon considerably increase. We leave it entirely to your Reverence to choose for us a man, who is capable of Taking upon him our Spiritual Concerns and instruct us in our holy religion, and we humbly beg to grant our prayers as soon as it is possible for your Reverence. In our religion the diversity of Language makes indeed no difference but from the reasons alleged. Your Reverence will deign to perceive that it is of consequence to our repose that we perform our Worship in the Language we best understand. We shall take care to provide for our Pastor as our abilities go. If your Reverence will deign to answer this our earnest prayer, we humbly beg you to direct the answer to Mr. Werneker, No. 32, Corner of Warren and Church Street in New York.

For this great favor we shall feel ourselves for ever grateful to your Reverence and beg leave to Subscribe ourselves with the greatest Respect,

Your Reverence's Most Humble and obedient Servants.⁸

These are scanty records, indeed, for the early years of the great Archdiocese of New York, but few as they are they are precious memoranda of those days. Both Father William O'Brien and his brother, Father Matthew, were men of fine ecclesiastical training, and on several occasions Dr. Carroll had made use of Father William's talents in settling delicate matters in church discipline. Father Matthew O'Brien was a better scholar than his brother, and had attracted favourable notice from the members of the Legislature at Albany by his clear and fearless interpretation of Catholic doctrine. During the days of uncertainty, when the opposition to the creation of a bishopric at Baltimore was strongest, Dr. Carroll found a supporter in Father William O'Brien, as is evidenced by the correspondence which passed between them.⁹ Notwithstanding the prominence of the two

⁸ *Ibid.*, Case II-L4.

⁹ Cf. HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, pp. 689, 923, 973.

brothers, Dr. Carroll says in his letter of nomination to Cardinal di Pietro (June 17, 1807), regarding the priests to be chosen for the new dioceses, that for the time being the Church in New York State should be left to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Boston, "for among the priests there seems none fit to be intrusted with the episcopate and therefore I refrain from recommending anyone to such a grave post (*Namque inter sacerdotes illic constitutos nullus nihi videtur episcopatus capessendo idoneus, itaque supersedeo cuidam ad tam grave ministerium commendando*)."

Carroll was ill at the time these nominations were forwarded to Rome, as we learn from a letter to Father Plowden, dated Baltimore, January 10, 1808:

At the time of receiving the first [Plowden's letter of May 27th, 1807], I was exceedingly ill at my sister's in the City of Washington, and had not recovered when it was followed by the second [dated: July 28-August 12 (?), 1807]. My complaint originated with a most excruciating and, I may say universal, rheumatism, and was afterwards accompanied with other disorders, especially an influenza which was universal through the U. States. After enjoying an uncommon state of health to my 73d year (on the 9th, inst. I closed the 72d), I ought to expect and gratefully submit to the dispensation of divine providence, when it pleases to give me a serious admonition of my mortality.¹⁰

On December 3, 1808, he writes from Baltimore to Father Strickland:

You have heard no doubt of the new ecclesiastical order of things in our ecclesiastical government here; that four new Bishops are nominated, and this See is erected into an Archbishoprick. As the most excellent Dr. Matignon refused absolutely to be comprehended in the number of new Bishops, and was determined rather to return to Europe than accept, Mr. Cheverus is named for Boston, having under him the five states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Vermont. Amongst the clergy resident in N. York, when my letters went to Rome, there was no one here, whom I ventured to recommend for the Episcopacy, and suggested the propriety of leaving the Diocese subject for some time to the Bishop of Boston: but His Holiness was desirous to fill up all the Sees, and nominated for N. York, Fr. Concanen, an Irish Dominican, at Rome, of whom I have always had a favourable account.¹¹

This he repeats substantially on December 5 in a letter to Father Plowden. There is no mention in this part of his cor-

¹⁰ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

respondence with the English Jesuit of either of the two Fathers O'Brien. One other clergyman at that time stood out prominently among his brethren as capable of ruling a diocese, as great in extent as New York, and that was Father Matthew Carr, the Augustinian, of Philadelphia. But, unfortunately, Dr. Carr was at the time in difficulty, a serious charge having been made against him by some of his fellow-priests, and he had lost heart. On November 22, 1807, he wrote to Carroll that his usefulness in Philadelphia was ended owing to the malicious calumny spoken against him.¹² He resigned his vicar-generalship, but at Carroll's request remained at St. Augustine's. Dr. Carr was undoubtedly the man for the Bishopric of New York in case neither of the O'Briens should be nominated. And it is difficult to understand just what prompted Carroll to allow the see to remain vacant. The most careful search among his correspondence in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives has failed to reveal his secret motive for this strange omission. Judged by ordinary standards, the missionary success of Dr. Carr or of the two O'Briens far outshone that of the priests nominated for the new sees, with the one exception, perhaps, of Flaget.

In any account of John Carroll's life and character, this action—so singular at the time and as far as the early history of the Catholic hierarchy in the United States is concerned, so filled with danger to the independence of the American Church—ought to be more thoroughly understood. To most historians of the Diocese of New York and of the American Church in general, Carroll's abstention from nominating either of the O'Briens, is viewed as having proved fatal to the peace of the Church in this country, since it seemingly threw open the door to intriguers and to foreign ecclesiastical politicians. Father William O'Brien, the elder of the two brothers, had come to America in 1787, well recommended by Archbishop Troy of Dublin, who, at that time and till long afterwards was friendly to Carroll and to the American Church; and in Carroll's correspondence with the Metropolitan of Dublin there is occasionally a flattering reference to "my very good friend, Mr. O'Brien of New York."¹³ But until further documentary evidence is brought to light, the problem

¹² *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Case 2-15.*

¹³ Cf. MORAN, *Spicileg. Ossor.*, vol. iii, p. 504.

must remain unsolved. It is true that Father Anthony Kohlmann, as a member of the Society of Jesus, was prevented by its constitutions from accepting the episcopal dignity; but the Society was not then completely restored, and as one of the most distinguished priests in America at that time, it is curious that Bishop Carroll did not mention his name among the possible recipients of episcopal power.¹⁴

The choice of Richard Luke Concanen, as first Bishop of New York, could not come as a surprise to Bishop Carroll, who had learned to value the learned Dominican's judgment during the years he acted as American Clergy Agent at Rome (1792-1808).¹⁵ Concanen had escaped the burden of the episcopate on several occasions before his nomination to the See of New York, and when that post was offered to him, he pleaded the fact that he was then too old to take such a laborious task upon his shoulders and urged the appointment of his fellow Dominican, Father John Connolly, who succeeded him in 1815. Concanen looked upon his own selection as an "unfortunate appointment." He confessed to Carroll (August 9, 1809), that he had ever had "a sensible predilection for the Americans and a desire of serving on that mission; but never indeed had I the ambition of appearing there in the quality of a Bishop, especially in my advanced age and weakened by my late infirmities."¹⁶ Propaganda did not hide its pleasure in having the opportunity of concurring in the election of Concanen for one of the new American sees, and Carroll could have taken no exception to its action; for, "as Your Grace did not propose for New York any clergyman whom we could place over that diocese as its prelate, the Holy Father himself chose for this position a man whom long experience and the high esteem of all Rome prove to be most worthy of so exalted a dignity, and whom Your Grace has time and again shown to be very dear to

¹⁴ Father William O'Brien is said to have lost health of mind and body at this time, though he remained at St. Peter's until his death, on May 14, 1816. His brother had been transferred meanwhile to Philadelphia, and later to Baltimore, where he died October 15, 1816.

¹⁵ Cf. O'DANIEL, *Concanen's Election to the See of New York (1808-1810)*, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. ii, pp. 19-46.

¹⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-T1; printed in O'Daniel's article, *ut supra*, p. 23-24.



BISHOP RICHARD LUKE CONCANEN

yourself—Richard Luke Concanen, of the Order of Saint Dominic, and one of the theologians of the Casanate.”¹⁷

Richard Luke Concanen, the first Bishop of New York, was born in Ireland about the year 1747. Entering the novitiate of the Dominican Order at an early age, probably at Louvain, he came to the Minerva in Rome for his philosophical studies. Having completed these, he entered the College of San Clemente, Rome, for his theological course, where he studied under the learned Father Thomas Levins and Father Thomas Troy, who became Archbishop of Dublin and Primate of Ireland in 1786. Ordained to the priesthood in 1770, he continued the study of theology, obtaining the lectorate on February 4, 1773. On March 17 of the same year, he was appointed master of novices at San Clemente, a position which he held with great credit and skill for six years. Various posts of prominence in his Order were conferred upon him, and he was ably seconded in all his undertakings by his fellow-countryman and future successor in the See of New York, Father John Connolly, O.P. When Dr. Troy became Bishop of Ossory in 1776, Father Concanen was employed by him as ecclesiastical agent at Rome, and when ten years later Dr. Troy was promoted to Dublin, Father Concanen's duties involved much of the correspondence between the Church in Ireland and the Roman Curia. After the death (1792) of Father John Thorpe, who had been Agent for Dr. Carroll, Father Concanen was asked by the Bishop of Baltimore to arrange various ecclesiastical matters for the Church of the United States. In November, 1798, Pius VI appointed Concanen to the united Sees of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora in Ireland, but Father Concanen declined the exalted dignity. “I am resolved to live and die,” he wrote to Father William O'Brien in New York, “in the obscure and retired way of life I have chosen from my youth.” Again in 1802, he was proposed for the See of Raphoe in Ireland, but again his humility saved him from the honour. Both Pius VI and Pius VII claimed Concanen's intimate friendship, and this friendship proved of great value to Bishop Carroll. Through Father William O'Brien of New York and Archbishop Troy of Dublin, Dr. Carroll cor-

¹⁷ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture originale, America Centrale*, vol. iii, ff. 306-307; printed in O'Daniel, *ut supra*, pp. 22-23. For the principal documents on Concanen's election, cf. *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. ii, pp. 73-82.

responded with the eminent Dominican, and many of the letters in this correspondence, together with Carroll's direct correspondence with Father Concanen are still preserved.¹⁸ Father O'Daniel rightly claims for this correspondence a spirit of absolute trust, confidence and strong friendship between Carroll and the future Bishop of New York. No one showed a more profound interest in the progress of the Faith in the United States than Dr. Concanen, and it is highly interesting to see that on the same day Bishop Carroll sent to Propaganda his list of names for the new Sees (June 17, 1807) he wrote to Father Concanen asking him to act as his Agent in the matter at the papal Court. Father Concanen's busy career in Rome had extended over a period of more than thirty years when this request came to his hands, and with no thought of himself, the learned Dominican set to work on the commission entrusted to him. At a special session of Propaganda (March 4, 1808), the business of increasing the American hierarchy was considered. In a recapitulation of previous acts of the Sacred Congregation under date of 1814, we learn that Propaganda suggested in 1807, three names for the See of New York—Concanen, Connolly and Joachim Cowan, all three Dominicans. Father Concanen was without doubt the choice of the Congregation, and also the choice of Pius VII, who wrote in the Brief of his appointment to New York: "We immediately turned our eyes upon you." Concanen's great love for America was so well known, as was also his friendship with Dr. Carroll, that the Roman officials felt certain he would accept the appointment. On April 24, 1808, Dr. Concanen was consecrated by the Cardinal-Prefect of Propaganda, Di Pietro, in the Church of St. Catherine, Rome.¹⁹ Of the sad days which now set in for the zealous old bishop, who was anxious to proceed at once to America, there is no need to make repetition here. It was not until the spring

¹⁸ In the *Archiepiscopal Archives of Dublin* (partly published in the third volume of Cardinal Moran's *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, (Dublin, 1884); in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives* (partly published in the *Researches*, for which cf. *Index*, Philadelphia, 1916); in the *Propaganda Archives*; and in Archives of the Dominican Master-General, at Rome, for which cf. NOLAN, *The Irish Dominicans in Rome* (Rome, 1913), and especially O'Daniel's two scholarly articles in the *Catholic Historical Review* (vol. i, pp. 400-421, vol. ii, pp. 19-46), where the important documents will be found.

¹⁹ It is to be noted that the charge made by De Courcy-Shea, by Clarke, and by others that he declined the appointment in Ireland to accept that of New York is without foundation; the two appointments are ten years apart.

of 1810, owing to the blockade of all shipping in Italy by the French fleet, that he was able to obtain a berth in the ship *Frances* of Salem, Mass., then in the harbour at Naples. But even after boarding the vessel, the authorities refused to accept his passport, and he was obliged to disembark and take up temporary lodgings in the city. The vessel was scheduled to sail on June 17, and two days later Bishop Concanen died in the arms of Father Lombardi, a fellow Dominican, who was to accompany him to America. The next day he was buried in the Church of San Domenico Maggiore, Naples.

The new See embraced the present State of New York and what was then known as East Jersey. Geographically it was a compact diocese, and had Concanen been successful in quitting Italy with the group of missionaries he contemplated choosing for his new field of labour, the early history of the diocese would no doubt be filled with splendid things planned and achieved for the Church of God. Concanen would have had as his chief aid in organizing his diocese a member of his own Order, and one who had spent more than a score of years ministering to the congregations within its limits. When it became evident to the venerable Dominican that his journey to New York might be delayed much longer than he had at first anticipated, he wrote to Archbishop Carroll (July 23, 1808) authorizing him to appoint to the New York Diocese a vicar-general "with all necessary powers you and I can delegate to him."²⁰ Again it would seem but logical that "my old friend and companion, Rev. Mr. William O'Brien," as he styled him, would have been chosen for this important post, but on the receipt of this letter (October 11, 1808), Carroll appointed Father Anthony Kohlmann, S.J., to this position.

Father Kohlmann was born in Alsace, June 13, 1771. Ordained to the priesthood at Fribourg, Switzerland, during the French Revolution, he joined the Fathers of the Sacred Heart, and laboured for some time in Austria and Italy. In 1803 he entered the Jesuit Novitiate at Dünaburg in the restored Russian Province of the Society, and the following year came to America to take part in the restoration of the Society of Jesus in this country. He was one of the most distinguished members of the

²⁰ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-T1; cf. O'DANIEL, *ut supra*, p. 32.

restored Society, and when Bishop Carroll sent him to New York in October, 1808, he brought along with him Father Benedict Fenwick, S.J., and four scholastics, with whom he organized the New York Literary Institution, a classical school for boys. Bishop Carroll sedulously avoided naming any of the members of the Society of Jesus to the new Sees, otherwise Father Kohlmann might have found a place in the list. As pastor of St. Peter's Church, and vicar-general or administrator of the diocese, in the absence of Bishop Concanen, Father Kohlmann was virtually the founder of the New York Archdiocese.

Father Kohlmann was about forty years of age at this time, and had under his immediate care in the city about 15,000 Catholics. His presence in New York City filled a double necessity—that of occupying the place of the bishop until he should reach the newly-created see and also that of satisfying the German Catholics of the city who had appealed to Dr. Carroll in March, 1808, for a pastor who could preach to them and hear their confessions in German. The appointment of Kohlmann proved satisfactory to New York's exiled bishop, but a misunderstanding arose later, when the energetic Kohlmann, in his desire to provide for Catholic education in the city, founded the New York Literary Institution, which was at first located near St. Peter's on Barclay Street, but was later moved to the site of the present Cathedral. "From the very start it rejoiced in no less a number of pupils than fifty, among them the children of Protestants like Governor Tompkins; and had circumstances permitted its founders to continue their good work, undoubtedly it would have been the foundation of a great College."²¹ In 1807, Father Kohlmann visited the German Catholics around Goshenhoppen and in the city of Philadelphia, where he remained for two weeks, instructing the children in Christian doctrine, preparing them for their first Holy Communion, and hearing the confessions of many who had grown careless. "Almost all the confessions I heard," he wrote to Carroll, "were general or at least for three, six or ten years back."²² The leading Catholic laymen in Philadelphia at that time was James Oellers, the proprietor of Oellers' Hotel, where many an historic banquet occurred during the days

²¹ SMITH, *History of the Catholic Church in New York*, vol. i, p. 45.

²² KIRLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 176 (original in *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 4-Lg.

when the city was the nation's capital; and like all his race, who have emigrated to America, the chief interest of Oellers was the education of the young. Oellers had been a leader in the opposition to Bishop Carroll's authority and was likewise an opponent to Bishop Egan. At the time of Kohlmann's visit, peace had been established temporarily, and Oellers proposed to the Jesuits to found a college in the city. He promised to bestow the land and the building, if the Society would furnish the masters. Dr. Carroll does not seem to have approved of the project, no doubt considering it prudent to allow the problem of collegiate education to be decided by Philadelphia's bishop. Perhaps, also, he knew of the sentiments expressed by Kohlmann, March 7, 1808, in which the Jesuit said: "At this critical moment of the appointment of five [*sic*] new Bishops, the great point for the Society is to take possession of Boston, New York and Philadelphia, for fear we may be prevented by others."²⁸ Father Anthony Kohlmann was far-sighted enough to realize, more keenly perhaps than the Americans themselves, that the future of the United States lay no longer with the South and that it was in New York that the nation would find its greatest centre of population. Hughes gives us an abstract of a letter written by Kohlmann to Grassi, then the American Superior of the Jesuits, dated April 24, 1815, in which the shrewd Jesuit protests against confinement of the Society within the State of Maryland—"the State of New York is of greater importance to the Society than all the other States together." Next in importance, he places Pennsylvania, and he trusts that the leaders of the Jesuits will not "doom" the Society to such a State as Maryland. Referring to the suppression of the New York Literary Institution (1813), he says quite boldly that had the Superior been far-sighted he would have sacrificed Georgetown College in preference to the New York College. The narrowing influence of the Neales was, however, predominant in Jesuit circles at the time, and "instead of getting a footing at New York, there appears a determined disposition to recall all ours to a State [*Maryland*] the worst and poorest in the Union, a State from which even seculars retire into the wilderness of

²⁸ Cf. *Researches*, vol. xviii, p. 168.

Kentucky . . . a State . . . in which the Society will be eternally buried as in a tomb . . ." ²⁴

Bishop Concanen was in correspondence (1809) with Maréchal, then Rector of the Lyons Seminary, France, with a view to the establishment of a college and seminary in New York City, and when the news reached him of Kohlmann's foundation, "the good man, mild as he was, was somewhat indignant that such a step should have been taken without his knowledge and consent." ²⁵ He expressed his opinion in no uncertain terms to Troy, and for a time seems to have harboured the feeling that Dr. Carroll had overreached his authority. Letters from the Archbishop of Baltimore, however, set his mind at ease. In a letter to Maréchal, on February 10, 1810, Dr. Concanen, by way of apology, as O'Daniel states, explained that the New York Literary Institution "was erected, as he (Carroll) informs me, before he heard of my appointment to that See. He gives me, moreover, the pleasing news of the thriving state of religion in my Diocese, and that there is also a Catholic school opened at New York for female children . . . Had I known before of the establishment of the new Academy at New York, I probably would not have engaged the two young Franciscans to accompany me . . . Another piece of news that Doctor Carroll gives me is, that there is a new Church now building at New York, which is to be dedicated to St. Patrick." ²⁶

Fathers Kohlmann and Fenwick had persuaded the trustees of St. Peter's that a second church was necessary in the metropolis, and accordingly land was purchased on the outskirts of the city and the new church (Old St. Patrick's) was begun on June 8, 1809. When the news of Dr. Concanen's death reached New York, a solemn Mass of Requiem was celebrated on the first Sunday in October, 1810, for the happy repose of his soul.²⁷ Father Kohlmann remained in New York as administrator of the diocese. The Jesuits sealed the fate of the Institution by transferring it to the Trappists, who arrived in New York in 1812-

²⁴ Cf. HUGHES, *l. c.*, pp. 945-946 note; that Carroll saw the opportunities for Catholic education and progress in New York is evident from his correspondence at this time. (Cf. HUGHES, *l. c.*, pp. 800-801.)

²⁵ O'DANIEL, *ut supra*, pp. 37-38

²⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 14-U3; printed in O'DANIEL, *ut supra*, p. 38.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Case 4-M5. (Kohlmann to Carroll, October 29, 1810.)

1813; and when the Ursuline nuns, who came in 1812, returned to Ireland in 1815, Catholic education in the diocese was at a standstill.

From the death of Concanen (June 19, 1810) until the consecration of Father John Connolly, his fellow-Dominican, as second Bishop of New York, on November 6, 1814, the see remained vacant. It was during these years, especially, that correspondence between Rome and Baltimore practically ceased. The imprisonment of Pius VII by Napoleon, the decision of the Holy See not to appoint bishops to vacant bishoprics so long as the Pope was kept in duress, and the disturbances caused by the War of 1812, rendered it impossible for Dr. Carroll to provide for the Diocese of New York. The appointment of Bishop Connolly followed quickly upon the return of Pius VII to Rome; and it may be safely concluded that the Holy See had decided shortly after Concanen's death to name his companion to the vacant diocese. On the eve of his death, Bishop Concanen had proposed for the appointment of Father Ambrose Maréchal as his coadjutor; and it is evident from Carroll's correspondence at this time that Maréchal was also his own choice. The election of Father Connolly has been interpreted by the historian of the Catholic Church in the United States, John Gilmary Shea, as the culminating point in long years of intrigue for the control of the American Church on the part of the Irish hierarchy, the chief offender being a member of the same Order to which Bishop Concanen and Connolly belonged—Archbishop Troy of Dublin. Shea sums up the charge of foreign interference as follows: "The danger which the old Maryland priests had feared had proved no delusion. Bishops and others in Europe were urging appointments to Sees in this country, ignorant of the actual state of affairs and of the qualities required. Archbishop Troy of Dublin was the centre of these movements, and his interference can be traced in Canada and England, as well as in the United States. The nomination of Bishop Concanen had been chiefly on his recommendation . . . Archbishop Carroll and Bishops Flaget and Cheverus saw with gloomy forebodings their advice set aside at Rome in deference to that of prelates strangers to the country."²⁸

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, ff. 664-665.

After the death of Dr. Concanen, continues Shea :

The appointment made for New York at the instance of Archbishop Troy and other Irish bishops was one almost unparalleled. The choice fell on Rev. John Connolly, of the Order of St. Dominic, and a subject of George III. The United States and Great Britain were then actually at war, and no country in Europe would have failed to resent, under similar circumstances, the appointment of an alien enemy to a bishopric within its borders by refusing him admittance into its territory. The nationality of Bishop Concanen had prevented his reaching America; but without learning experience from that appointment, the authorities at Rome committed a grave national discourtesy in electing to an American See the subject of a country actually at war with the United States, and which had just laid its national capital in ashes.²⁹

This is the popular American tradition of Dr. Concanen's appointment, as well as of that of his successor. If it is to stand as historic fact, then the problem rests between an error of judgment on Bishop Carroll's part in not protecting his Church from this alien interference and an error of judgment on the part of Rome. The appointment of Dr. Concanen has been studied from the original documents by the Rev. Victor O'Daniel, O.P., the historian of the Dominican Order in this country. As a Dominican, it must be conceded that Father O'Daniel's interpretation of so important a page in American church history, in which all three of the participants were members of his own Order (Troy, Concanen and Connolly), might be open to question, but he has given us from the Archives of the Dominican Master General at Rome and from other important archival collections all the documents bearing on the problem. It is his interpretation, therefore, which should settle the question of interference, at least in the appointment of Dr. Concanen, in which Archbishop Troy of Dublin had no part. "Nowhere," say O'Daniel, "in these lengthy minutes of Propaganda is the name of the great metropolitan of Dublin mentioned. Other documents show that all communication between Ireland and Rome at this period had been interrupted by the enmity between France and England, and that Troy had no idea of his friend being appointed Bishop of any place."³⁰ Bishop Concanen's letters to Archbishop Troy prove

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 665-666.

³⁰ *Ut supra*, p. 21 note.

quite conclusively that there was no intrigue in the appointment of New York's first Ordinary, and what is true of Dr. Concanen's elevation to the American episcopate is equally true of his successor. In summing up this interesting problem, Father O'Daniel says: "It is but fair to Shea's memory to suppose that he had at his disposal only partial or imperfect copies of these documents; for he could hardly have written as he did, had he seen the originals . . . the great churchman (Troy) in no way deserves the sweeping accusation of interference urged against him by various authors and especially by Shea."⁸¹ That Dr. Carroll shared the opinion with his fellow-priests regarding the interference of the new prelate can be seen in his correspondence with Troy, which Cardinal Moran must have deliberately kept out of his *Spicilegium*.⁸² But Carroll does not accuse Troy in the case of Connolly; he brings the charge to Troy's own act in the question of the Irish ecclesiastical politicians who were determined at this time to foist the unwelcome disturber of the peace, Harold, on the vacant See of Philadelphia. In this instance, as will be seen in the next chapter, Troy protests against having acted irregularly or improperly.

On March 22, 1815, Troy wrote to Carroll to say that he had been requested by Bishop Connolly to announce the latter's election and consecration.⁸³ Dr. Carr wrote to Carroll from Philadelphia, on May 22, 1815, saying that the news of Connolly's consecration had reached him; and on October 29, 1815, Carroll heard that Connolly was about to sail for New York.⁸⁴ Bishop Connolly was about sixty-five years old when he landed in New York City on November 24, 1815. As a British subject, he prudently waited until the Treaty of Ghent before coming to the United States.

Archbishop Carroll, at this date, was in his last illness. There were few who did not know that the venerable prelate was nearing the end, and it would be much to Bishop Connolly's credit, if among the Carroll documents, a letter announcing his arrival to

⁸¹ *Ut supra*, pp. 25-26 note.

⁸² *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9-T1-5.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, Case 8-N8.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Case 2-P7; cf. Carroll to Plowden, June 25, 1815, *Stonyhurst Transcripts*; Clorivière to Carroll, London, June 19, 1815 (printed in *Records*, vol. xxi, p. 91), announces Connolly's near departure.

his metropolitan were to be found. Archbishop Neale wrote on December 3, 1815, to New York's Ordinary, announcing Carroll's death, and on the 7th Connolly replied: "I have long admired and esteemed him on account of his learning, zeal and piety. His death will be regretted in Europe as well as in America, particularly at Rome, where his Holiness often spoke to me of him . . . My intention during my voyage to America was to wait on Dr. Carroll before I should take possession of this See, but I have been hindered from so doing by a cold contracted at sea, which still continues, with a cough . . ." ⁸⁵ Bishop Connolly's failure to communicate with Archbishop Carroll seemed to many at the time to indicate that in some way a strong prejudice against Baltimore's archbishop had grown up at Rome. Carroll was past caring at the time, but a visit from Bishop Connolly would have cheered his final days on this earth. Two days before Connolly arrived in New York, Archbishop Carroll had received the last sacraments, and a week later, on December 3, 1815, John Carroll passed away.

At the time of his arrival, Bishop Connolly found in his Diocese five priests (Fathers Benedict Fenwick, S.J.; Peter Malou, S.J.; Maximilian Rantzau, S.J.; Thomas Carbry, O.P., and Michael Carroll). His cathedral (Old St. Patrick's) had been dedicated by Bishop Cheverus on May 4, 1815, and his flock was estimated at between thirteen and fifteen thousand souls. ⁸⁶ Bishop Plessis of Quebec, who visited New York in September, 1815, makes mention of the fact that the Church then had suffered much owing to the uncertainty of canonical jurisdiction. Kohlmann's resignation left the diocese under the care of Fenwick; but without an express delegation by Connolly, the young priest could exercise no power. Archbishop Carroll could not name an administrator, since the see was filled, and so, in summary, the condition of Catholic affairs in the metropolis and in the State was acephalous. Bishop Connolly, according to Plessis, was not received with much enthusiasm at first. ⁸⁷ The following year (1816) Fenwick

⁸⁵ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 12-M8.

⁸⁶ Connolly to Propaganda, February 26, 1818, *Propaganda Archives, Scrittura riferita, America Centrale*, vol. iv, no. 21.

⁸⁷ T&U, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-161.

was recalled by his Superior, and during the ten years of his episcopate (1815-1825) Bishop Connolly found himself out of sympathy with some of his priests and people, and more than once during that period his attitude on grave questions imperilled the safety and the peace of the Church in his diocese.

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CHAPTER XXXII
THE SUFFRAGAN SEES: III. PHILADELPHIA
(1793-1815)

"On the division of the original Diocese of Baltimore, which had embraced the whole United States, Pennsylvania and Delaware, into which the services of the Church had been extended from Maryland, and which had even in colonial days enjoyed a freedom and toleration denied the faithful and their devoted priests in the land which Sir George Calvert had made a sanctuary, were erected into a bishopric with part of New Jersey. Next to the Diocese of Baltimore that of Philadelphia seemed to promise most consoling results; but in the course of time it suffered more than the Church in any other part of the country from enemies within and to a terrible extent from enemies without."¹ In his Report to Propaganda (April 25, 1792) on church conditions in the new Republic, Bishop Carroll penned what is virtually the opening paragraph for the history of the disorders in Philadelphia, which lasted during the whole of his own episcopate (1790-1815) and during that of Bishops Egan (1810-1814) and Conwell (1820-1842). Laymen fretting under church discipline, and unruly priests who had not brought with them to America a respect for ecclesiastical authority, were the chief causes of the disturbed condition of affairs in Philadelphia for half a century. The schism of the priests and the trustees of Holy Trinity was no sooner brought to an amicable settlement than a similar situation arose in the parish of St. Mary; and if a minor share of the energy displayed in writing and publishing pamphlets and diatribes had been expended for the good of souls and for the promotion of religion, Philadelphia might have held the pre-eminence in Catholic American life it enjoyed at the time of Bishop Carroll's consecration. The Philadelphia "stirs" do not furnish an edifying chapter in the Catholic history of Carroll's

¹ *SNEA, op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 206.

time; but they are essential to an adequate knowledge of his episcopate. Bishop Carroll in his lengthy Report says:

Besides those disturbances at Boston, of which I have already written, a certain prejudice to the state of religion both here in Baltimore and in Philadelphia has been enkindled. The origin of the whole trouble comes from two priests whom, on account of the great need of labourers and pressed by necessity, I accepted some years ago as sharers of my labours. Both were impatient at any subjection to rule, and one of them, already led gradually to the height of irreverence, has done his best to arouse a factious spirit among certain German Catholics, on the pretext that they rarely hear sermons in their own tongue, and are without churches specially set aside for their own nationality. Since both these priests are German, they have gathered about them a certain number of followers, men indeed of a humble condition in life; and having deserted the posts assigned to them both in Baltimore and Philadelphia, without any authority, in fact against my express command, they are daring to minister sacrilegiously to these people.

The trouble in Philadelphia, as we have seen, started with the foundation of Holy Trinity Church and the appointment by the trustees of the Capuchin, Father John Charles Heilbron, to the pastorate there. Philadelphia and the surrounding country had attracted German immigrants from the days of Pastorius, the founder of one of its suburbs, Germantown; and many Catholics came with these emigrants. Pastorius mentions a Catholic as one of the servants he brought with him to Philadelphia. All through the colonial history of Pennsylvania down to the death of Father Farmer, on August 17, 1786, the German- and English-speaking groups in the Catholic Church were about equally divided. When Father Greateon, in the 'thirties, gathered his little flock at St. Joseph's Chapel, the congregation numbered thirty-seven souls, fifteen of whom were Germans. From that time, down to the period under study, German Jesuits were sent to Pennsylvania, and the names of Father Schneider, who ministered to the German settlement of Goshenhoppen; Father Farmer (Steinmeyer) at Lancaster and Philadelphia; Father Manners (Sittensberger) in New York County; Father Luke Geissler at Conewago, and Father James Pellentz, who was Carroll's vicar-general—all Germans, are written indelibly into the history of the Catholic life of the State. There is hardly any doubt that the German Catholics formed a majority of the congregations in the State

down to the end of the eighteenth century and even later. In Father Harding's official census (1757) of the 1,365 Catholics in Pennsylvania, 949 were Germans. When St. Mary's Church was erected in 1763 to relieve the burden of the little Chapel of St. Joseph's, not a small portion of the money advanced for its construction came from the German Catholics, and in 1768 we find them taking the first steps towards separation by purchasing a burial-place of their own. The death of Father Farmer had deprived the German Catholics of the advantage of religious ministrations in their mother tongue, and shortly afterwards meetings were held for the purpose of founding a separate German church. Dr. Carroll appointed Father Laurence Graessl to take up the work left vacant by Farmer's death. He arrived in October, 1787, whether before or after the advent of the two German Capuchins, the brothers, Fathers John Baptist and Peter Heilbron, is uncertain. These latter priests had come unannounced and apparently without the consent of the superiors, in response to the rather fervid letter written on June 10, 1785, by Paul Millar, a prominent Catholic of Conewago. The need of priests was so pressing that Dr. Carroll welcomed the two brothers and appointed them to the congregation in Goshenhoppen.² In 1784, a German Franciscan left his convent with-

² In one of Molyneux's interesting letters to Carroll (Philadelphia, November 29, 1785), he relates that a letter, which he encloses, from a young Catholic priest in Ireland, was brought to him by a Mr. John Irwin, a Presbyterian, who had lately returned to Philadelphia from Ireland. The letter is as follows: "I have examined seriously and with attention into the method of being established as a Catholic Priest in North America, and I find that there has lately been a Vicar Apostolick appointed by the Holy See, with all ordinary power in Spirituals, under whom in consequence and by whose sole direction everything regarding the Catholic Mission of the U. S. must be conducted. There are two things therefore necessary towards my legal establishment. The first is to be called upon by V. Apost. and the 2d is to have a testimony of my past conduct, and an explicit approbation of my undertaking and the intention of my proceedings from the Ordinary, or the Bishop of the Diocese, in which I have been ordained and where at present I am employed as a Missionary. The latter will be readily granted, and there are numbers of our Clergymen totally unoccupied in this diocese; and the former I do not hesitate to obtain by yr. kind exertions in my favour on which I chiefly rely. The Vicar Apostolick will doubtless be well pleased to find subjects qualified to undertake the arduous task of a Missionary as the French and the Clergy of Catholic Countries are entirely unqualified through the want of the knowledge of the English language. You will be kind enough therefore to enquire for the principal Roman Catholick Priest at Phila. and represent to him, that a Priest of yr. acquaintance employed at present upon the mission in Ireland who can be well attested by his Superior as well as for necessary abilities as moral conduct makes him an offer of his services. I have had an acct. since yr. departure from Ireland that a Priest is much wanted at Baltimore, as well as in many other

out permission and came to Philadelphia. This was the Rev. John Baptist Causse, or Father Fidentianus, as he was known in religion. Father Farmer took pity on the fugitive and obtained his pardon from his superiors, and Father Carroll authorized him to minister in case of necessity to his fellow countrymen.³ Causse was another of the *vagabundi* who caused so much unrest to the infant Church of the United States. He went to Boston, then to Quebec, spent the winter of 1784-1785 at Halifax, and after many trials returned to Philadelphia on August 5, 1787. He was then sent to Lancaster, but the lure of Philadelphia called him back (1789). It is interesting to note that in 1787 he was one of the original trustees of Franklin College, Lancaster, in the foundation of which he had a part.⁴

On November 22, 1787, when Father Carroll was in Philadelphia, the Germans presented him with a petition requesting his approbation of Father John Heilbron as their pastor. The prefect-apostolic considered it prudent to refuse this request, stating that he had already appointed Father Graessl to that post. Two days later, James Oellers, in the name of the Germans of the city, wrote to Father Carroll, stating that, in their opinion, Father Graessl was unfitted for so important a task as caring for the Germans of Philadelphia. They were persuaded, he writes, that Father Heilbron "is the Gentleman best fitted to answer our

places in America and would undoubtedly have set off upon this encouragement, if I had any assurance of meeting the approbation of the Vicar Apostolic; wch. I have already notified to you is absolutely essential for my undertaking. Beside it wd. be a great argument of temerity and imprudence in me to proceed without the least certainty of being employed and hereby expose myself perhaps to misery and the danger of starving in a foreign land; wherefore you will obtain the Vic. Ap. approbation in scripts with the emoluments I may expect and depend upon. HENRY CONWELL." (Printed in the *Records*, vol. xxix, pp. 275-276.) Thirty-five years later, Conwell was to come to Philadelphia as its second Bishop.

³ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-M2.

⁴ Causse's later career is not known with certainty. It would seem that after being cashiered by Carroll about 1789, he took refuge with Father Theodore Brouwers at the Sportsman's Hall, now the site of St. Vincent's Abbey, Beatty, Pa., whom he attended during his last illness. Father Brouwers died on October 29, 1790. After this date, Causse bought a circus called "Jerusalem," with which he toured the country. On June 4, 1793, he wrote to Carroll: "I would sell my show called the Jerusalem, if I could be reinstated as pastor somewhere." Carroll accepted this sign of returning sanity, and promised to pardon the Franciscan, if he would make a public reparation for the scandal he had given. After this Causse is lost to sight. (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-M3.) There is a record of a pension (£35.3.4) paid to Causse by the Select Body on May 18, 1789, "a balance due from the time he commenced to serve the congregations of Lancaster." (Cf. HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 69.)

purposes, as we are all confident that he will by his good Example in a very short time Collect the Flock again together, which has in some Measure through Neglect gone astray within this 15 months past . . . Should it be still your determination to have the said Mr. Cresler [*Graessl*] appointed against our will, we beg leave humbly to request that you will be pleased to leave us the Rev. Mr. Heilbron, Junr. here, whom we will support in all necessities at our own Expense . . .”⁵ What part Father John Heilbron (or Helbron, as the name is sometimes spelled) had in this declaration of independence is difficult to say. The project of the separatists continued, however, and at the house of Adam Premir a subscription was launched for the new Church. The ground was purchased by Adam Premir on February 21, 1788, and two days later, Premir, as “President of the Society of Germans,” wrote to Carroll, disclaiming any other reason for their action than the good of souls. Carroll replied on March 3, 1788, upholding the right of the prefect-apostolic alone to promote priests to pastoral charges in this country. The actual building of the church was begun on March 31, 1788, and in April the leaders wrote to Carroll asking him to come to Philadelphia to lay the cornerstone of Holy Trinity Church, as the new edifice was to be called. Dr. Carroll was unwilling to go to Philadelphia for the ceremony; and gave authority to any one of the priests in Philadelphia to lay the cornerstone. This ceremony took place on May 29, 1788, with Father John Baptist Causse and the two Fathers Heilbron present. Carroll’s letters show that he had accepted the assurances of the German leaders that peace and unity in the Catholic ranks of Philadelphia should be preserved.⁶ They now proceeded to elect a pastor, and on March 22, 1789, Father John Heilbron was elected to that post. Both Causse and Graessl were candidates and the result of this unique election gave Heilbron 75 votes, Causse 12, and Graessl 5. The result was announced by letter to Father Carroll on the same day. Basing their action upon the old canonical right of patronage, they believed, and no doubt with honesty, that having built the church

⁵ The story of this phase of the schism at Holy Trinity Church has been set forth in a thoroughly documented way by GRIFFIN, in the *Records*, vol. xxi, pp. 1-45. (Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 12-13.)

⁶ Cf. *Records*, vol. xxi, pp. 1-45 (originals in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9-N1-4).



BISHOP MICHAEL EGAN

out of their own resources and assuring the pastor of maintenance, they had the right to elect their own spiritual chief. Carroll, naturally, could not agree to this novelty in his prefecture, and he refused to accept Heilbron's election. A letter to Carroll from Father John Charles, dated Philadelphia, October 8, 1789, showed a good spirit, for Heilbron averred that he would never be "anywhere placed as an officiating clergyman without submission and dependence to the Ecclesiastical Superiority." Nevertheless, Heilbron imprudently exercised parochial functions in the church, and was given peremptory orders from Dr. Carroll that he would be suspended unless he acknowledged the prefect's authority. This he did, signing a document to that effect, and Carroll then accepted him as pastor of the new church. The trustees, however, showed fight for a time, on the ground that they could not "under any consideration cede those Rights so gracefully granted by our Dear Mother in promoting religion in particular in this country." Peace came finally on January 6, 1790, when Bishop-elect Carroll came to Holy Trinity to administer Confirmation.⁷ The following year Father John Heilbron left for Europe in order to solicit alms for the completion of Holy Trinity Church. In August, 1791, he applied to Bishop Carroll to have his brother Peter appointed *locum tenens* during his absence, and Father Peter assumed the pastorate on September 3, 1791. Carroll gladly gave permission to John to leave, hoping that he would not return. Nothing was further heard of him, and it is supposed that he was a victim of the French Revolution. For the next five years, the situation of the Church in Philadelphia was a satisfactory one. As an example of the difficulties, which seemed to multiply with the years, Dr. Carroll had to fear the effect upon Antonelli and the other officials at Rome of such misguided explanations of these revolts against his authority as that contained in Smyth's *Present State*.⁸

Father Peter Heilbron was assisted in 1793 by the Rev. Lawrence Phelan, and everything appeared to be going well under their administration until July, 1796, when there arrived in Philadelphia from Austria a "trouble-breeder, intriguer, an interloper, the hireling," Rev. John N. Goetz, who presented himself

⁷ *Records*, vol. xxi, pp. 29-30.

⁸ For the draft of Bishop Carroll's reply to Smyth, cf. *ibid.*, l. c., pp. 30-31.

to Bishop-elect Neale at Philadelphia, asking permission to exercise his priestly duties at Holy Trinity Church.⁹ He was accordingly appointed assistant to Father Peter Heilbron, and was so elected by the trustees. The subordinate position hardly tallied with Goetz's opinion of his own worth, and he protested that nothing less than equal pastoral rights would satisfy him. A breach ensued, the congregation being soon divided into two factions. On September 28, 1796, the trustees passed twenty-six resolutions that are models for lay effrontery and ignorance. Father Peter Heilbron wisely refused to accept them, and the trustees then deposed him (October 14, 1796) from the pastorate, appointing Goetz in his place. The city soon learned of the bitter dispute these outrageous proceedings had caused, and after being informed by Bishop-elect Neale of the sad condition of affairs in Holy Trinity Parish, Bishop Carroll warned the rebellious trustees that they and Goetz ran the grave danger of excommunication. Goetz was joined at this time by another "trouble-breeder," Father William Elling, who had already given Bishop Carroll much concern at Lancaster and Goshenhoppen. On December 8, 1796, Bishop-elect Neale published a *Pastoral to the German Catholics frequenting Holy Trinity Church in Philadelphia*, in the hope of averting the coming schism:

Dearest Brethren,

It is with the greatest concern I see the very agitated and disorganized state of Trinity Church; and the more especially as I have been ever studious to promote its interest, welfare and respectability, both by removing from the minds of my own people all animosity and unfavourable impressions in your regard, and also by restoring that cordial and fraternal intercourse between the Pastors of the two Churches, which had unfortunately been too long interrupted. You cannot have forgotten the period when I appeared in your Church in public testimony of restored peace and harmony. You yourselves as well as other well-disposed brethren, felt the happy effect and mutually congratulated each other on the occasion.

Indeed, so happy a union of Parties could not fail of exhilarating both your and my feelings, as it reflected respectability on the body of Catholics at large, and held forth the fairest prospect of promoting the grand cause of religion.—But, alas! . . . How soon did these auspicious appearances vanish! . . . Scarcely was peace restored without, when you burst into internal rebellion. But against whom did you rebel? . . . Against

⁹ HERTKORN, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

your lawful and esteemed Pastor . . . against your Diocesan Bishop . . . nay, and even against your Mother the Church. . . . But how? 1st. Against your Pastor by expelling him in a most humiliating manner from the Church where he had officiated for five years, both to your satisfaction and the edification of the public.—2dly. Against your Bishop, by refusing to abide by his decision, by openly rejecting his authority and jurisdiction; and 3dly. Against your Mother the Church, by uniting with and patronizing the unfortunate, the unhappy Priest, Goetz, who under the heavy weight of ecclesiastical censure, even a total suspension from all Priestly Functions, continues to add profanation to sacrilege, by a prohibited celebration of Holy Mass, and an unauthorized administration of the Sacraments.

But you will say, that your Pastor was turned off for refusing to subscribe to the regulations of the Trustees.—To which I answer, as those regulations included many things totally distinct from the temporalities of the Church, he did right, he acted the part of a true and genuine Pastor, in refusing to subscribe to them; and his conduct, in that particular, merited not only your approbation, but also your firmest support.—Let us however for a moment suppose that you were really aggrieved by his conduct.—Why then did you not apply to his superior, the Bishop, whose conscience was charged to redress the grievance? Why did you arrogate to yourselves the power of discarding him? Who gave you this power? Or has the Catholic Church in any case whatever, acknowledged in the laity a power of discharging their lawful Pastors at will? No. She neither has, nor ever will.—But you will say that you were authorized to act as you did by a title termed *Jus Patronatus*.—Ah! my brethren, and it is thus you expose yourselves to the laughter and pity of a discerning public, by spouting forth terms, which you understand not, and repeating the reveries of an illiterate and factious LEADER, who will never reflect honour on you? The truth is, you have no *Jus Patronatus*: You can have none, because your Church has no FIXED, PERMANENT and UNALIENABLE fund for the support of a Pastor. Such is the doctrine of the Council of Trent: and therefore Doctor Carroll in his letter to me on this subject dated 11th of October, 1796, speaks thus: "Their pretended *jus patronatus*, must be resolutely resisted, and is absolutely untenable."—Besides, though you really possessed the *jus patronatus*, it would entitle you merely to present, and not to appoint or discharge your Pastor. For according to the practice and doctrine of the Catholic Church, from the Apostles' days down to the present time, all Pastors are appointed by their respective Bishops, without whose concurrence and approbation they can have neither *mission* nor *jurisdiction*. And therefore, to assert and obstinately maintain the contrary, would be Schismatical and Heretical.—The sentiments of our Bishop Doctor Carroll, on this subject, will appear from his letter to me bearing date 20th of Oct. 1796, which is as follows: "You call for my opinion and directions on the contents of your alarming letter of the 15th and 16th instant.—My opinion is obvious; viz. that the proceedings of Goetz and his adherents, are schismatical and

deserving every censure, even the highest which the Church can inflict: and that the man, who can put himself at the head of such a party so soon after getting footing in the country, must be a man of most turbulent and unprincipled disposition. My farther opinion is, that unless the poor misled Germans can be undeceived and reclaimed soon, they and their church will shortly be separated from the Catholic communion, as *those of them already are* who have excited and fomented this rebellion; and Goetz in particular, who with his better knowledge, has gone into so outrageous a breach of episcopal authority in those points which are purely spiritual, and entirely unmixed with any thing of a temporal nature. And on this account it becomes necessary to proceed with every act of vigour against him. Wherefore you did right to signify to him a total suspension *a divinis*: And as there is too much reason to apprehend that he will disregard the suspension, and act in violation of it, it will be proper to have it published in such manner, as is sufficient to caution all concerned from attending his ministry, or partaking in his sacrilegious administration of the Sacraments. If you find it necessary to publish his suspension in the face of your congregation, you have my approbation." And again, in another letter dated November 24th, he says: "If ever there were cause for excommunication against any one, Goetz, the trustees, and Elling, deserve it." Thus far Doctor Carroll.

Now, my brethren, from all that has been said, you may form a just idea of the situation in which you stand.—You have at your head an unfortunate priest, who cannot offer the sacrifice of Mass without sacrilege, who cannot administer the Sacraments without profanation; who cannot absolve with any validity; who acts in open opposition to, and defiance of, his Bishop, whom he is bound by oath to obey; and finally, who, in the judgment of his Bishop, has by his misconduct separated himself from the communion of the Catholic Church. . . . And will you unite with him in his unwarrantable proceedings? Will you communicate with him in his sacrilegious profanations? Will you support him in his obstinate contumacy against the authority of his Church? . . . To do so would be to place yourselves in the same predicament with him; to render yourselves equally guilty with him; and finally to separate yourselves from your Church equally with him.—Ah! . . . Can you bear the idea? What? . . . To be separated from the Catholic Church! Is it possible that you should have come to this determination? And still such infallibly must be the case, if you persist to adhere to, and patronize that unhappy man. For the Catholic Church, which is as immovable in her doctrines as the Rock upon which she was built, cannot long contain within her bosom those her deluded children, who obstinately fix themselves in opposition to her decisions. She, indeed, like a tender mother, alarms them by her cries, and solicits them to return to their duty. But if they obstinately resist her motherly call and pressing solicitations . . . Oh . . . then, though reluctantly, she will, nay, she must raise her melancholy voice, to pronounce the sentence of separation. . . .

But still, I cannot entertain the idea of your desiring to be separated

from the Catholic Church. I still persuade myself that your departure from duty has arisen, not so much from malice, as from misrepresentation, and an undue influence of a designing and corrupt party. I still persuade myself, that, being now called on by the Church, through me, though an unworthy instrument, you will by a speedy return to your duty, convince the world that your deviation was merely human, and that you deem it honourable to correct your error, as soon as you are rendered sensible to it. That the Father of Mercies may enlighten your minds, and dispose your wills to this happy effect, is the most earnest prayer of

Your sincere friend, and Humble Servant in Christ,

LEON^D. NEALE, *Vic. Gen.*

*Philadelphia, Dec. 8, 1796.*¹⁰

By the end of the year, however, Goetz was in open schism, and after vainly striving to bring the trustees to a saner counsel, Bishop Carroll addressed (February 22, 1797) a Pastoral Letter *To my beloved brethren of the Congregation of Trinity Church, Philadelphia*, exhorting them to unity:

Your peace and union, my dear Brethren, have been disturbed for some time past, by a daring invasion of the sacred and purely spiritual authority transmitted by Christ to his Apostles, and their Successors in the Apostolical ministry. Though the occasion was sufficiently important and alarming, yet I deferred till the present time to address myself *immediately* to you; still hoping, that the violent breach of the laws of the Church, which originated, as I knew, with a few only, would be soon disavowed by your almost general voice. It was not difficult to persuade myself of this; for I relied much on the sincerity of your attachment to your religion, to the faith you received in Baptism and which you have cherished ever since in your hearts. But my expectations have proved vain: some of you have supported the usurpation, and deserted the pastor, who, to use the language of the Saviour of Mankind, *entered by the door into the sheepfold*, and have delivered themselves up a prey to him, whose intrusion has all the marks attributed by Christ to a *hireling*, not entering *by the door with the fold*, but as a *thief and a robber*. . . . Some months ago, the clergyman, who is the chief author of all this evil, arrived in the United States: according to the regular and established usage of our Church, he exhibited to the Vicar-General, at Philadelphia, the certificates of his ordination, and others respecting his conduct and manners; and he wrote to me, *most humbly requesting*, to use the expressions of his letter of July 28, 1796, *to be admitted into the diocese, and to be allowed to exercise priestly functions, in Trinity Church, at Philadelphia, solemnly promising—that he would so diligently acquit himself of the sacerdotal*

¹⁰ From printed copy in *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11B-V3.

duties which might be committed to him, as to render himself worthy of further favours.

Dr. Carroll then recounts the different stages of Goetz's insubordination, and lays special stress on the new element brought into American life by the schismatics—namely, the declaration on the part of the trustees of their independence of Rome and of the bishops appointed by Rome, on the plea that the hierarchy represented a *foreign jurisdiction*. The fatal consequences of the action of the trustees is then accurately set forth, and Carroll concludes with an appeal to all the malcontents to obey the spiritual authority of the Church.

As this revolt against the lawful authority of your ecclesiastical superiors was begun without any pretense of injury, or a single cause of complaint, ever made known to me; and as I am conscious to myself of feeling every disposition, not only of good-will, but of tender solicitude to promote the welfare and respectability of your congregation, and the increase in all godliness; so I cherish the hope, that a sense of religion towards God, of due submission to the rightful authority of his ministers, an attachment to revealed truths, and an awful horror of the guilt of schism and apostasy, will revive in all hearts and banish out of them discord and disobedience, and bring back again the pleasing prospects of extending the reign of Jesus Christ in truth and holiness.¹¹

When this appeal failed, he excommunicated Goetz and Elling; the first for having the erroneous doctrine that "the power of ecclesiastical ministry and government is derived to pastors from the community or congregation of the people"; the second for having "disregarded his suspension," and for daring "profanely to administer the Sacraments and even to offer up the great Christian sacrifice, thus adding sacrilegious aggravation to his other guilt."¹²

The schismatics now made common cause with another German disturber of the peace—Father Reuter, in Baltimore. Goetz was dismissed for other reasons by the trustees and disappeared, but Elling continued the schism in spite of the decree of excommunication. The following year, 1798, Bishop Carroll came to

¹¹ Printed copy in *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 10-W2. This pastoral was printed from a rare copy, by Archbishop Maréchal, in 1820 (copy in Catholic University of America Library, 268.3:P.293); printed also in *Records*, vol. xxiii, pp. 102-114.

¹² *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11B-V6; printed in *Records*, vol. xxiii, pp. 114-116.

Philadelphia to bring concord to the distracted parish and was arrested on complaint of the trustees. He was brought into court "to hear from your lawyers," he writes to Oellers, one of the schismatical ringleaders, on November 17, 1801, "the foulest abuse of our Church, its laws, doctrines, and government, Pope and Holy Council of Trent, etc., as if they had ransacked all Protestant libraries to defame it. You, with others, were present, without attempting to moderate the rancor of their invectives. On that occasion your counsel denied on your behalf that I was your Bishop, saying that Trinity Church was out of my jurisdiction."¹³

Reuter had meanwhile gone to Rome to petition for the erection of a German diocese with a German bishop in the United States.

The trustees of Holy Trinity still maintained their rebellion against Bishop Carroll, even after the excommunication of the two clergymen, "but their supporters were dwindling away or growing lax in their allegiance, for men who had rebelled against authority are not apt to be submissive to the usurper. The better-minded among the people had grown weary of their anomalous position of a Catholic congregation cut off from the Catholic Church and banned by their fellow-Catholics. No doubt the hopelessness of securing their unreasonable demands for independence had much to do with bringing the schism to a close. At any rate negotiations were entered into to bring about the restoration of the congregation to Catholic unity."¹⁴ There was no longer any doubt to all concerned that so far as John Carroll was concerned, the incident was closed. Submission to his spiritual authority alone would restore the congregation to Church unity, as he told Thomas FitzSimons, Philadelphia's leading Catholic layman, when the latter tried to make peace. The trustees made overtures to Carroll in November, 1801, and Dr. Carroll commissioned his vicar-general, Dr. Carr, O. S. A., to treat with the insurgents. On November 30, 1801, James Oellers, secretary to the trustees, wrote to Bishop Carroll asking for a "speedy reconciliation."¹⁵ Dr. Carroll agreed to the terms

¹³ Cf. HERTKORN, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

¹⁴ KIRLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

¹⁵ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11B-W8; cf. HERTKORN, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

proposed by Oellers, except in one particular: the formal submission of Father Elling to his episcopal authority. Dr. Carr was not successful in persuading the unhappy priest to submit to his bishop, as we learn from Elling's letter to Carroll, dated December 1, 1801:

Right Rev. and dear Sir:

I was extremely pleased, when a few days ago your favour of November 18 and 19 was handed to me, in which you mentioned that you had commissioned Revd. Mr. Carr to receive proposals at a reunion between you and us at Holy Trinity Church. Mr. Carr and I met together yesterday at Mr. Primer's, and after a mutual communication of opinions, I told Mr. Carr that in my opinion the only one and most peaceable way of effecting a reunion would be:

1. to bury into everlasting oblivion all kinds of animosities occasioned by the unhappy differences beginning in the year 1796, and lasting till this day
2. to withdraw all law suits. And then
3. to transact everything as it was done *ante dissidium*.

If you will not disturb the congregation of Holy Trinity in the exercise of their rights, which they claim as free and independent citizens, subject to nothing but the laws of God and the land where they live, on which account they surely have the same power of choosing and rejecting what other most Christian, most Catholic, most Apostolic, and most faithful nations or their kings and parliaments have chosen or rejected; if you let them enjoy their rights, then they will never fall out with you, they will love and revere you. I am sure they will then not hesitate to present me to you as the object of their choice to be their pastor and all things will be done with the greatest harmony, and edification. May the Lord of peace dwell in your heart and all will be at once settled. I remain with the highest veneration.

Right Revd. and dear Sir,

Yr. m. o. h. Servt.,

WM. ELLING.

P. S.—Very often I would have written to you these five years, but I always apprehended that you would not like to enter into any correspondence with me, but Mr. Carr encouraged me, by saying if not I myself would communicate to you these proposals, which I asked him to transmit to you [*sic*] ¹⁶

The following day (December 2, 1801), Dr. Carr informed Carroll that "the pleasing prospect of reuniting the Germans of Holy Trinity had vanished. Nothing will meet their ideas, but what you never will concede. At Elling's particular request, I

¹⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Case 11B-W9.*

had an interview with him in the presence of Premir, after several amicable conversations with Oellers; the result of all is that if you leave them to go on as in 1795 and 1796, and allow them hereafter to nominate a clergyman, they will become your dutiful children. . . . Everything must be left in *Statu Ante*.”¹⁷ Further reflection, however, led the trustees to the realization that Carroll would never sacrifice the principle of non-interference in the sanctuary, and in January of the next year, the trustees submitted. Elling agreed to sign a form of submission, which he did on January 28, 1802, and these documents Carr sent to Baltimore on February 2, 1802.¹⁸ Elling had written to Dr. Carroll (January 6, 1802): “I shall always acknowledge in you my Common Father and Bishop, so as I did formerly. . . . I ask you one thousand times pardon, my dear Sir. . . . Was it not winter, I would have immediately gone to see you at Baltimore.”¹⁹ The church was reconciled by Dr. Carr, and all censures were removed from Father Elling, who was then appointed pastor of Holy Trinity by Bishop Carroll. Thus ended the first schism in the Church of the United States. Father Elling resigned the pastorate of Trinity Church on October 25, 1806. He remained in Philadelphia for several years; probably he went to New Orleans, but later returned to the scene of his former labours, and died in Philadelphia, on April 2, 1811.²⁰

Bishop Carroll then appointed one of the priests who had come to America for the purpose of reestablishing the Society of Jesus, Rev. Adam Britt, S. J., to the pastorate of Trinity. It is highly interesting to find Britt writing on August 31, 1807, that he needs an assistant who can speak English, since so many of the Germans who make up his congregation have forgotten their mother-tongue: “Et omnino necessarius est aliquis propter Germanos complures qui cum a Germanis hic nati descendunt linguae patriae obliti, non nisi Anglicam fere loquuntur, et tamen in eadem quam frequentant ecclesia confiteri cuperent, et etiam concio-

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Case 11B-W10.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Case 11B-W13; printed in HERTKORN, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Case 11B-W11.

²⁰ Father Thorpe had advised Carroll (September 15, 1790) when Elling was planning to go out to America, that he “has an itch for rambling,” and warned him that the man was a malcontent. (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-K10.)

nantem Anglice audire.”²¹ Father Kohlmann was the first to be sent to Philadelphia for this purpose, and later Father Patrick Kenny was appointed by Bishop-elect Egan, as “English Pastor.” As a priest, Father Britt was subject to his immediate superior, Father Charles Neale, and it was Britt’s removal from Trinity in January, 1811, which precipitated the last phase of Carroll’s difficulties with the restored Society and ultimately brought about Neale’s deposition by the Father-General.

Father Michael Egan, the future Bishop of Philadelphia, who had been appointed pastor of the neighbouring congregation of St. Mary’s on April 12, 1803, was chosen by Carroll to be Philadelphia’s first bishop, and his election on May 24, 1808, separated Pennsylvania, Delaware and West Jersey from Baltimore and constituted the third of the new dioceses. Michael Egan was born in Ireland, 1761. At an early age he entered the Franciscan Order, and advanced so rapidly that in his twenty-sixth year he was appointed Guardian of St. Isidore’s, Rome. Three years later (1791), he was sent to Ireland, and after labouring there for a short time, came to America with the double purpose of assisting in the scattered missions and of establishing a Province of the Franciscan Order in this country. It was at St. Mary’s that the letter of May 24, 1808, from Propaganda, announcing his election to the newly-created See of Philadelphia reached him. Archbishop Carroll described him at the time as a man of about fifty, endowed with all the qualities necessary for the proper discharge of the functions of the episcopate. Bishop Egan was never very robust; his experience was not a wide one; and a greater degree of firmness in his disposition might have bettered conditions during his episcopate. He was a learned, modest and humble priest who maintained the spirit of his Order during his whole life. Cardinal di Pietro, Prefect of Propaganda, in his official appointment advised Bishop Egan to begin immediately after his consecration a Visitation of his large diocese, in order that all bad customs might be corrected, abuses abolished, and the priests encouraged to perform their duties zealously (*ut naviter sua munera sequantur*). He was especially warned against allowing his clergy to be too lenient in administering the Sacrament of

²¹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Case 2-A10.*

Penance. and he himself to neglect nothing that would tend towards the peace and tranquillity of the Republic.²²

During the two years' delay before his consecration (October 28, 1810), the trustees of St. Mary's, then the cathedral church, welcomed (November 24, 1808) an assistant to Bishop Egan in the person of the eloquent Dominican, Rev. William Vincent Harold. Father Harold had come to New York in 1808, hoping to find Bishop Concanen already installed there and expecting to be assigned to parochial work in that diocese. He came well recommended by Archbishop Troy, and the trustees of St. Mary's elected him to that church as assistant-pastor with the bishop-elect and Father John Rossiter. On December 3, 1808, Harold's arrival was joyfully announced by Egan to Dr. Carroll:

Rev. Sir:

When the good and worthy Rev. Mr. Byrne arrived here in N. York, on his way to Georgetown, I endeavoured to prevail on him to remain with me during the winter and he seeing how very much I wanted an assistant, consented to remain, provided His Lordship the Bishop had no objections. He had preached and given public instructions during Advent very much to his honour as well as edification and spiritual advantage of the congregation, and now as another Rev. gentleman is arrived, who can supply his place, he wishes to go to Georgetown as he originally intended. Whenever he goes I shall always consider myself very much indebted to him. The Rev. gentleman who is to supply the good Mr. Byrne's place here, is a Rev. Mr. Harold of the Dominican Order, just arrived from Dublin with strong recommendations from Doctor Troy and the Provincial of his Order. I have also received letters from Ireland in which he is mentioned in a very favourable light as a gentleman of good sense and most excellent conduct. He heard in Ireland, long before the news had reached America, of the appointment of the new Bishops and came with the intention of fixing in N. York where he thought Dr. Concanen was already arrived. But finding that city well provided with Clergymen, and hearing of my situation and how much I wanted an assistant, he arrived last Saturday in Philadelphia and offered me his services which I joyfully accepted. He preached yesterday at St. Mary's and gave general satisfaction, so much so indeed that the trustees and several others came to congratulate with me on having so able an assistant. As there are some doubts of my jurisdiction as Bishop, as the authentic documents for the establishment of the new See are not yet received, I have given him the requisite faculties as the Bishop's V. G., and hope my so doing will meet his Lordship's approba-

²² *Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 294, f. 11.

tion. His arrival is very providential, as Mr. Rossiter continues in a feeble state, and I will gain fresh strength and health by having his assistance.

Prayers were offered up yesterday in all the R. C. Churches of the city for the repose of the soul of the Rev. and much lamented Mr. Molyneux and next Thursday there will be a Solemn Requiem at St. Mary's for the same purpose. I am with profound respect your

Most humble Serv't

MICHAEL EGAN.²³

Father William Vincent Harold accompanied Bishop Egan to Baltimore for the consecrations (October 28-November 4, 1810), and the brilliant Dominican's sermon at the consecration of Bishop Cheverus was by far the best delivered in this country up to that time. On Bishop Egan's return to Philadelphia towards the end of the year 1810, there occurred the first of a long series of misunderstandings and quarrels between the trustees of St. Mary's Church, the pro-Cathedral at that time, and episcopal authority in Philadelphia. The story has been told so often and with such largess of detail that only those aspects of the local history in which Archbishop Carroll played a part are here necessary. Harold first came into conflict with the trustees over the amount of his salary; his overbearing attitude towards the gentlemen who made up the Board aroused some to question the proprietary right of Bishop Egan and the clergy over the Church itself. This, in another form, was the same vital question which had alienated the Church of the Holy Trinity.²⁴

There came about this time (March, 1811) to Philadelphia a priest who "was destined to play an important part in the history of Philadelphia, as a source of scandal and disruption,"²⁵—the Rev. James Harold, uncle of Father William Vincent. James Harold was parish priest of Saggart in Ireland in 1798, when he was transported to Botany Bay by the English Government, on suspicion of being concerned in the political movement of that year. In 1810, he obtained permission to go to America, and he

²³ *Catholic Archives of America, Notre Dame University*, printed in the *Researches*, vol. ix, pp. 123-124.

²⁴ The property was originally deeded to Father Harding and his heirs. Harding transferred the property to Father John Lewis; Lewis, to Molyneux; and Molyneux, to Father Francis Neale, S.J., who deeded it to Bishop Conwell, on November 7, 1825. (Cf. HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, pp. 363-364.)

²⁵ KIRLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

was welcomed by Bishop Egan, since Father John Rossiter of St. Mary's was then in ill-health.²⁶ James Harold was chosen as a trustee of the Church, and his nephew was appointed by Bishop Egan vicar-general of the diocese.²⁷ Kirlin has well said: "The installing of the two Harolds in power seems to have been the signal for the beginning of the trouble," which broke out after Bishop Egan's return from his Visitation of the diocese in the late summer of 1811.²⁸

The Church in Pennsylvania outside the limits of Philadelphia possessed a venerable history and tradition.²⁹ The chief centres of Catholic life were the districts around Loretto, where the prince-priest, Gallitzin, was stationed; and around Lancaster, Conewago, and Pittsburgh. The Catholic history of Pittsburgh, one of the first of the second series of dioceses created in the United States (1843), goes back to the days of the French occupation of Fort Duquesne, the present site of that city. Mr. Felix Hughes came to Baltimore in 1784 to solicit the establishment of a parish there from the prefect-apostolic, and in the long list of missionaries who laboured there from that time down to Bishop Egan's visit are found the names of the celebrated Carmelite,

²⁶ Egan to Carroll, March 16, 1811, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-H6.

²⁷ Cf. *Records*, vol. xxi, pp. 93-94.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 199-200. Egan had not been very prudent in the interim, while the diocese was awaiting the official documents for his consecration. Carr wrote to Carroll (April 16, 1809) that Egan was causing anxiety by assuming the authority of an ordinary bishop (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-19).

²⁹ "When the see of Philadelphia was established, there were in Philadelphia St. Joseph's and St. Mary's churches, attended by Rev. Michael Egan, O.S.F., the Bishop-elect, assisted by Rev. John Rossiter; Holy Trinity, attended by Rev. William Elling and Fr. Adam Britz; St. Augustine's, by V. Rev. Matthew Carr, O.S.A., and Rev. M. Hurley, O.S.A. Holy Trinity had by a successful lottery in 1806 erected a parsonage and St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum, the first institution of its kind erected by Catholics in the United States. Rev. Louis de Barth attended at Lancaster and Conewago; Rev. Paul Erntsen had begun in 1793 his quarter century pastorate at Goshenhoppen; Rev. S. V. Phelan had reared a log church at Sugar Creek, and Father Peter Heilbron, O. Min. Cap., another log chapel in Westmoreland County; Rev. Demetrius A. Gallitzin was laboring in the district of which Loretto was the centre, and Rev. W. F. O'Brien had just left Brownsville to restore to a permanent footing Catholicity in Pittsburgh, where in the days of the French the brave men who so gallantly strove to hold that point knelt before the altar of Our Lady. There were a few churches without resident priests, as at Elizabethtown, Westchester, Carlisle, and not a few stations scattered far and wide. Such was the diocese over which the mild and humble Franciscan was called to exercise his pastoral care, create resources to meet ever-increasing wants, and instill into all the lessons of harmony and peace." (SENA, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 209-210); cf. SENNA, *The Church at Lancaster*, in the *Records*, vol. v, pp. 307-356; GANSS, *History of St. Patrick's Church, Carlisle*, *ibid.*, vol. vi, pp. 266-422.

Father Paul de St. Pierre; the Capuchin, Charles Whelan, who had been so badly treated in New York City by his brother religious, Nugent; Flaget, who visited Pittsburgh in 1792; Fathers Badin and Barrières (1793); Father Michael Fournier (1796-1797); Father Theodore Brouwers, who became the first resident priest in 1790; and Father Peter Heilbron, who retired to Pittsburgh in 1799, when the schismatics of Holy Trinity Church dismissed him. The Rev. William F. X. O'Brien, who had been ordained at Baltimore on June 11, 1808, came to Pittsburgh as resident pastor (1811-1820), and began the erection of the church known as "Old St. Patrick's." This church was dedicated by Bishop Egan in August, 1811.³⁰ The little community known as Maguire's Settlement, and later as Loretto, where Prince Gallitzin began his long and faithful career of missionary, was visited by Bishop Egan, who confirmed there some two hundred Catholics.³¹ He visited also Lancaster where Father Beschter was then stationed.

On his return to Philadelphia in October, 1811, Bishop Egan found himself very weak, and, in the presence of the priests, he informed them that his physician strongly recommended him not to preach for a time, owing to a weakness of the chest.³² The Harolds refused to accept his request that they preach on alternate Sundays, so as to save his strength. The bishop was so hurt by this action that he endeavoured to persuade Father James Harold and Father William F. X. O'Brien to change places. Pittsburgh had no attractions, however, for the turbulent Irishman, and Bishop Carroll could not persuade him to accept the appointment. On October 8, 1811, Bishop Egan wrote to Dr. Carroll, expressing his satisfaction in the progress of the Faith he had witnessed during the three months of his Visitation. He had administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to about 1460 persons in the different congregations he visited.

The first sign of the coming scandalous condition of affairs in Philadelphia appeared in a Circular Letter of August 22, 1812,

³⁰ Cf. LAMBINO, *History of the Diocese of Pittsburgh*. Pittsburgh, 1889.

³¹ *Souvenir of Loretto Centenary*, pp. 216-218. Loretto, 1899.

³² As early as October 3, 1805, Father Brosius wrote to Carroll from Philadelphia that Dr. Egan was apparently suffering from tuberculosis. (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-B6.)

signed by Bishop Egan, and the two Harolds, protesting against the non-payment of their salaries.

A letter from one of the leading Catholic laymen, one of the trustees of St. Mary's, John Carrell, dated Baltimore, September 15, 1812, to Archbishop Carroll, tells us of the effect of this Circular Letter:

Most Rev. Sir:

I greatly regret that I have twice this Summer, missed the pleasure of meeting you here. I have now brought my son William to place him at the College. The trustees of St. Mary's Church requested me to present to you the inclosed pamphlet and to explain to you more fully than it does, the causes that led to the fatal disunion which unfortunately prevails in that congregation, which has heretofore been remarkable for peace, unity and liberality in support of the Church and Clergy.

The address of the Clergy being circulated here and elsewhere, the Trustees are desirous their answers to it should have a co-extensive circulation, to remove the unfavourable impression that would otherwise prevail against them, where they are not known; to you, Revd. Sir, most of them are personally known. I have long served the Church with them, and I believe their motives to be as pure, as disinterested at least, as those of their accusers. There is besides the papers now sent you, a protest against the proceedings of the meeting, signed by a great number of the most respectable pewholders, and in circulation for more, when I left the City. I was present at the meeting, and was grieved at the shameful disorder and tyrannical conduct that prevailed there, and moved for a postponement, to give the Trustees time to vindicate themselves, this was opposed violently by some of the Clergy, and denied; I endeavored to remonstrate against this act of injustice, and was several times threatened to be knocked down, by some of the fellows who were placed in different parts of the house, to intimidate everyone that ventured to speak in behalf of the Trustees, my life was threatened by an Irish porter. Mr. Carey, Mr. Byrnes, my brother and several other gentlemen were also insulted, the friends of the Trustees had to quit the meeting, and leave it to themselves to avoid bloodshed; there was a set of fellows collected, as infuriate as your Baltimore mob, and as keen for blood if they had an opportunity; most of the Trustees had received letters, threatening their lives, and the burning of their property, one of them had five such letters. Is the cause of the Clergy to be supported by such means as these! The Trustees and their friends are not to be intimidated by such conduct, they are determined to pursue all lawful and honorable means, in order to prevent the affairs of the Church going into the hands of the Men, whom the Messrs. Harold have selected as their creatures. The causes alleged in the address are only made use of, to inflame the minds of the people against the Trustees, in order to remove them and put in Men, who are mostly of a class

to be dreaded in any society, violent Jacobins, and nearly strangers amongst us and however subservient they may be at present, to the views of those gentlemen, will injure the Church and in the end tyrannize over the Clergy and people; should they succeed most of the respectable members will leave the Church. I was twenty-three years a Trustee, and for more than 20 years of that time, was honoured with the confidence and friendship of all the Clergy, and of my colleagues; the business was always conducted with harmony, until the Revd. W. V. Harold entered the board, when he immediately opposed all former rules of conducting the business that did not accord with his will, he found in me a steady opposer of his innovations. When the Church was about to be enlarged, I differed in opinion with my colleagues to the manner of opening the Subscriptions, I thought the rights of the old Pewholders were unjustly sacrificed to accommodate the new subscribers (this I could clearly demonstrate to you was the case). Mr. Harold took advantage of this to remove me from the trust, and secretly employed every measure to prevent my election, by aspersing my character and even sending his Tickets out by the Newscarrriers the morning of the election; I was not apprized of this until just before the election, when some of my friends called on me and wished to take measures to defeat him, I refused to permit it. I was at first put into the board without my knowledge, and continued in it since without ever having solicited a vote, and had no desire to serve with Men I could not agree with. I had for several years before been desirous to quit the trust, but remained in it at earnest request of Dr. Egan and Mr. Rossiter. Whilst the Church was building, Mr. Harold flattered the members of the trust, as they very liberally devoted their time and money for that purpose; but no sooner was it finished than he began to turn them out by degrees, and to put his creatures in their places, the old members who were re-elected refused to serve with those he put in, the consequence was that the whole proceedings of last year were illegal, some of the board not being citizens they could not form a board as required by our laws. The whole of the old members, with the addition of my brother Edward, were elected last Easter since when Mr. Harold has been constantly at variance with them, and I firmly believe there never will be peace in the Church whilst him and his Uncle remain there, they ought not to have been appointed Pastors of the Church; the secret manner in which the former left Ireland leaves room to suspect that his conduct was as turbulent there as it has been here and they were glad to get rid of him, we know that Clergymen of abilities cannot easily get leave to come here. As to the latter, I refer you to Sir. Rich'd Musgraves hist. of the rebellion in Ireland, for an account of his conduct there, and to "Wonders of Nature and Art" published lately in Philadelphia by Dr. Mease, in 10th Vol. Pages 59 and 62 for a sketch of his conduct in Botany Bay, from which he was afterwards exiled to an Island for his misconduct, and I am sorry to say that his conduct since he has been in Philadelphia fully confirms these statements; are

"such Men as these" fit Pastors for St. Mary's Church? When they taking advantage of Dr. Egan's timidity and love of peace tyrannized over him and his family, he threatened to put Revd. J. Harold away he defied him and told him he had ten friends in the Congregation where the Bishop had one, and gave him abusive language; this I know from the best authority and Dr. Egan told me himself a week after the quarrel that he had not then recovered from the effect it had on him. I strongly urged him to remove him and try to get over his Cousin—he said it was his intention to do so—but he has since said that he could not remove Mr. H., in fact he cannot do anything they will not approve of. I am Most Revd. Sir, your devoted son,

JOHN CARRELL.²³

Bishop Egan's interpretation of the quarrel is contained in a letter to Archbishop Carroll, dated September 28, 1812:

Most Rev. Sir:

It is painful to me to be under the necessity of writing to the Archbishop on any subject that could for the moment give him the least uneasiness. I think it however my duty to inform him that the unfriendly dispositions, and I may say hostile spirit manifested by the Trustees of St. Mary's against their clergy since their election into office, and a just apprehension of consequences injurious to Religion if they were permitted to proceed in their designs without meeting any opposition on our part induced me to call a meeting of the pewholders at the school-room on the 24 of Aug. where Resolutions were passed disapproving the conduct of the present board of Trustees. I believe I have no occasion to inform the Archbishop with what extreme reluctance I had recourse to this measure. But there was no alternative. Every conciliatory expedient was previously tried in order to redress the grievances we complained of. A respectable Person of the Congregation was deputed to them, for that person, even Charles Johnson, a Member of the Board, but who declined having anything further to do in their designs, was informed by us of our intention to call the congregation and allowed full liberty to communicate this our information to the Trustees, but all to no purpose. I did hope that after the Congregation had expressed their disapprobation of their conduct in so public and unequivocal a manner, they would remain quiet, and give no further trouble, but in these expectations I have been unhappily disappointed. They have made a reply to our address, in the form of a pamphlet, and to make the circulation as extensive as possible, they have caused 1000 copies to be printed. Of this pamphlet, I am told there are several copies distributed in Baltimore, and the Archbishop will find, in perusing it, many gross misrepresentations, and expressions highly injurious to our character which if passed by unnoticed, would make such an impression on the minds of our People as would effectually

²³ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Case 2-K4.*

destroy all confidence in their pastors. Under the circumstances, I considered a second meeting of the pewholders absolutely necessary. And in order to render it more solemn, and the same [time] prevent any disturbance which otherwise might arise, in discussing a subject of this nature. I appointed the little chapel as the most convenient place to hold the meeting. Accordingly on Monday evening the 23 of September the meeting took place, and the result was such that reflects the highest honour on the Congregation of St. Mary's, and will prove an instructive lesson to all future Trustees in what manner they ought to conduct themselves toward their clergy. I enclose the resolutions passed at the last meeting, and have only to observe that the reason why the Congregation rejected the motion made by Mr. Carey was because it supposed a division in the Congregation, which they denied to be the case. This unfortunate Business has made some noise, but I hope it will be soon forgotten. While the minds of the Trustees continue in their present perturbed state, and their passions irritated, I can have slender hopes of their submission, but when their passions begin to cool, and they seriously reflect on the scandal they have given, in so wantonly attacking their clergy, I am persuaded that some of them at least, will return to their duty. All I shall require of them in that case is an acknowledgment of their regret for an expression contained in their pamphlet injurious to their clergy, and permission from them to mention this from the pulpit or altar. One of them with whom I had a conversation on that subject last Saturday morning declared that was not requiring too much. But in the afternoon of the same day, I found him a quite different Person. He had then seen and consulted with his colleagues, and neither my entreaties nor those of Mr. Harold had any effect in persuading him to make the necessary reparation, at least for the present. I shall say no more on this disagreeable subject, which I know must be painful to the Archbishop, and has kept my mind in constant agitation since it happened.

I remain, most Rev. Sir, your most humble and obedt

Servt and Br. in Xt.

✠ MICHAEL, Bishop of Philada.⁸⁴

Bishop Egan later confessed in a letter to the Archbishop (October 29, 1812): "I candidly acknowledge the words of that address were never approved by me though from pliability of disposition I unfortunately sanctioned it by my signature, but it has been an instructive lesson to me by which I shall profit on all future occasions."⁸⁵ Bishop Egan began to realize that the Harolds were fighting the trustees with his episcopal authority as their shield.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Case 2-P7; cf. Carroll to Plowden, June 25, 1815, *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

⁸⁵ Egan to Carroll, October 29, 1812, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-Hs, printed in GRIFFIN, *Egan*, p. 69.

Another interesting letter, sent to Bishop Egan, over the signature "A Catholic," found in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives, throws still further light on the situation in Philadelphia at this time:

Philadelphia, Jan'y. 30th, 1813.

Rt. Revd. Sir,

It would ill comport with the duty I owe you as my Bishop, or those under your charge, my fellow-Christians, to preserve a criminal silence, when I behold you betrayed into measures, so injurious to your own, as well as our eternal welfare; instead of endeavoring to avert the evil, by showing, in the most respectful manner, the dangerous tendency of the proceeding. You cannot question the propriety of my motive when you consider the important stake we all have in your doing right, nor of the mode adopted, so long as truth and reason are my guides.

A report, believed to be founded on fact, is in circulation, that you have signified your intention of depriving one of your clergy of his trust, without any cause, you could safely allege as a justification, and the inference necessarily is, that it is done to appease those who are known to be hostile both to them and yourself. It is to show the injustice of this step both to yourself, your clergy and your flock, that I now address you, and altho the wound inflicted on your reputation requires to be probed, in order to be healed, I confidently hope the spirit of wisdom and charity may enable you to appreciate my motive and profit by the operation.

However strange it may seem, nothing can be more certain than that the adoption of such a measure would be the highest injustice to yourself inasmuch as it would hold you up to your flock either as the instrument of unprincipled men, to gratify the most abandoned designs; or as ungratefully sacrificing your best friends, to conciliate your enemies, for some purposes you cannot avow, and thereby shake the confidence of your charge in your understanding, or heart. Should the former be the result, in what a deplorable situation will you have placed yourself, when those under your care are furnished with such good grounds for questioning the propriety of, perhaps, your most necessary action; and, in the latter case, how poignant must be your anguish, when you will find your example cited to justify any conduct, however reprehensible. In the first instance you deprive yourself of all means of doing good; in the latter it were preferable never to have been born. Let me beseech you not to be so unjust to yourself.

The injustice of this measure in regard to your clergy is so glaring as to excite the astonishment of those who heard of it, that you could, for a moment, harbour the intention. They have rendered themselves obnoxious to some of your relatives by introducing reform and economy in your household; a measure of which you must now be sensible of the benefits, and which you should have anticipated, and to the present Board of

Trustees by their generous exertions to enhance your means of comfort and dignity as well as by their able defence of your character and conduct, when both were assailed in the most insolent and shameless manner by those men, whom you are about to gratify in dismissing our aged pastor in this shameful manner. How can you reconcile such a proceeding to your conscience, or any idea of gratitude or honor? Surely you cannot have forgotten that scandalous compound of falsehood and insolence, in which you are represented as avaricious, unfeeling, mean and intriguing? or how could the manly, eloquent and admirable defence of your conduct by the man you are now about to injure in the tenderest point, ever be obliterated from your memory? Well might he ask for which of these services he is now to be recompensed by the banishment of his beloved Uncle? When you announced from the altar of the searcher of hearts that a reconciliation had taken place between "us" (meaning yourself and clergy) and the Trustees, was it to be expected that the terms of it were of such a nature, that those very clergy, so immediately concerned, could not be entrusted with them, much less that you would so shortly give the strongest reasons to believe, that they were of the most unjustifiable nature, by proscribing one of your clergymen, to satisfy the diabolical malice of those whom you thought fit to take to your bosom, without making the least apology or atonement, that I could ever hear of, for their former abominable proceedings? How must that transaction appear in the sight of him, "who searcheth the reins and the heart," which could not be submitted to the consideration of a fellow-mortal?

The injustice that would be sustained by your flock is by far the most deplorable of all the evils that would result from this infatuated determination, as it would poison at once the great source of their consolation in this world and happiness in the next; for let the matter be presented in whatever shape it may to their view, it must exhibit either their Bishops or Pastors in the wrong, and thus furnish one of the most powerful arguments ever made use of by Infidelity or Corruption for the destruction of souls; and which, in this case, would no doubt prove fatal to many for whom you must consider yourself accountable. And as it is highly probable that if one of your clergy is sent off in this way, the other cannot be prevailed upon to remain, it is not to be supposed they will be so destitute of all regard for their reputation as to leave it to the mercy of those who have evinced such an uncharitable, rancorous and malicious disposition towards them. Be assured they will exhibit the transaction in such a way as it will be difficult for the ablest of your advocates to palliate; and the probability is that the first Catholic Bishop of Philadelphia may appear in such a light to its inhabitants as he would gladly relinquish his mitre to be relieved from. Pause for a moment, I entreat you, before you adopt a measure that would not only justify, but render such a proceeding indispensable, and consider the injustice you should do your flock by inducing this scandal and disgrace to religion, the consequences of which are horrible to think on. I trust it is unnecessary to dwell on the injury we should sustain in being deprived of the services

of men we have so much cause to love and venerate. Yourself can bear witness to the uncommon abilities of one of them, and their useful application. Suffice it to say, the poor of St. Mary's would be deprived of their ablest advocate, and all ranks of the benefits of a Pastor of the most capable of any they have ever known to lure them to virtue and deter from vice—besides declaring in a manner that cannot be mistaken, they must ever look for the permanent services of any other, who is not prepared, when interest may require it, to lay down his integrity and independence at the feet of that portion of the Congregation who may happen to have wealth or influence, however profligate or unprincipled. In this case, all they could hope for, would be to mitigate the evil by turning out those from their trust and confidence who should abuse it—which, from all I can learn they intend doing with the present *worthy* incumbents.

Believe me, Sir, this has been a painful duty, I trust to your good sense that it may not prove unprofitable; but that you will give the subject of it all the consideration its importance demands, and act thereon as you could wish to have done on the last day.

A CATHOLIC.³⁶

When a temporary peace was imposed in the beginning of 1813, it was agreed to on condition that the Harolds be sacrificed.

Secure in their hold on the people whom they felt sure Bishop Egan could not oppose, the two Harolds arranged a dramatic coup, which fortunately failed in effect. On Sunday, February 21, 1813, the Rev. James in the presence of the Bishop and Father William Vincent, announced from the pulpit that both he and William Vincent had resolved to perform no more duties in that church. Obviously the scheme was that the Harolds considered themselves invaluable, and that a public resignation might have the effect of bringing forth a public and popular request that they remain at St. Mary's. To their amazement the design was frustrated by Bishop Egan gladly accepting their resignation.³⁷

The trustees now took up the gage for the Harolds, and threatened to build a separate church for them unless they were both reinstated in the pastorate of St. Mary's. But the bishop's "pliability of disposition" had passed, and he refused to listen to any threats. Father William Vincent journeyed to Baltimore

³⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-M1.

³⁷ KIRLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 210. "Noli irritare leonem!"—William Vincent said to Egan in an interview in February, 1813 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11-09). Barth wrote to Carroll, Philadelphia, September 7, 1814: "Rev. Wm. Harold, Sr. [James], is at Sea at last! All parties wished him to be gone, and were all alarmed, when the vessel was sent back to Wilmington on account of some irregularity in the papers . . . cessante causa, cessat effectus!" (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 1-N9.)

and placed his side of the case before Archbishop Carroll, and there is no doubt that he impressed the Metropolitan of Baltimore, since Carroll wrote to Bishop Egan recommending his reinstatement as pastor of St. Mary's. This Bishop Egan refused to do, in a letter, dated April 27, 1813, even though it meant that the diocese would suffer for want of priests, saying that in the event of the Harolds' restoration "the peace of the Church would be insecure, the advancement of piety will not be favoured, and my personal happiness would be sacrificed. Every day and every proceeding give additional force to this my unalterable resolution."³⁸ Thus the situation remained until July 22, 1814, when Bishop Egan passed away. Later, when the schism at St. Mary's had been reopened by another unfortunate priest, Father William Hogan, the stormy petrel of Bishop Conwell's episcopate (1820-1842), the trustees of that day stated that the real cause of the quarrel was Bishop Egan's refusal to have William Vincent Harold appointed his coadjutor. The prospective coadjutor left Philadelphia for Ireland in 1813, in company with another malcontent, Father John Ryan, O.P., who had been in Baltimore, and who caused difficulty for Carroll in Ireland and England. Later the younger Harold went to Lisbon, only to return to Philadelphia (1821) and to become a leader in the scandalous Hogan schism then at its height in Philadelphia. Father James Harold returned to Ireland, and did not come back to America.

As Father Kenny, who had been appointed pastor of St. Mary's in Harold's place, said in a letter to Archbishop Carroll, dated Philadelphia, July 10, 1814: "He (Egan) is incontestably a Martyr of the following truly Catholic principle: That the laity never had nor never will acquire by any means the right of nominating and appointing their priests as Pastors, in defiance of the will and approbation of a Catholic Bishop."³⁹ On the

³⁸ "The condition of the diocese in 1813 may be stated briefly. Bishop Egan was at St. Mary's with Rev. T. McGirr; Rev. M. Carr at St. Augustine's, with Rev. Michael Hurley; Rev. Mr. Roloff at Holy Trinity; Rev. Michael T. Byrne at Lancaster; Rev. Dr. A. Gallitzin at Loretto; Rev. Mr. O'Brien at Pittsburgh; Rev. L. de Barth at Conewago; Rev. Paul Erntsen was at Goshenhoppen; Rev. Patrick Kenny was in Delaware." (SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 216.)

³⁹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 4-L2; an interesting sketch of Father Kenny will be found in the *Records*, vol. i, pp. 117-159. Cf. *ibid.*, vol. vii, pp. 27-79, 94-132.

day of Egan's death, Kenny wrote: "But fell persecution effected what sincere attachment and best medical art could not prevent—I mean his dissolution. That he has been the first Victim of Episcopal rights, there can be no doubt . . . He bid the ungrateful City an eternal adieu." ⁴⁰

Sometime before his death Bishop Egan had appointed the Rev. Louis de Barth, then pastor at Conewago, Vicar-General of the Diocese of Philadelphia; and when the news of the Bishop's demise reached Baltimore, Archbishop Carroll wrote to the trustees (July 27, 1814), informing them that Father de Barth would act as administrator of the diocese until the Holy See had appointed a successor.⁴¹ Father Louis de Barth de Walbach was born in Alsace, in 1764. He was the son of Count de Barth, Baron de Walbach, and a brother of General John Barth de Walbach of the American Revolution. After his ordination (1790) he came to America, and for many years was in the mission fields of Maryland and Pennsylvania. At the time of his appointment to the Vicar-Generalship of Philadelphia, he was one of the most noted priests in the diocese; and on receipt of Bishop Egan's letter, he wrote at once to Archbishop Carroll refusing the appointment. "Death," he said, "would not be so frightful to me as Philadelphia." Unmoved by his appeal, Archbishop Carroll insisted upon his administratorship of the diocese. This included the pastorship of St. Mary's, and the trustees immediately rebelled against his presence there, setting up the old cry that they would have Harold or none. "While the trustees of St. Mary's were writing these abusive letters to the Archbishop in the summer of 1814, that prelate's soul was filled with the horrors of the war raging about him. Washington had been seized by the English, and . . . the victors destroyed the public buildings and public library, and the government archives. Baltimore was infested by the enemy, Fort McHenry bombarded and along the Potomac sacrilegious destruction and pillaging of churches took place." ⁴²

Philadelphia was not to escape the baneful influence of the

⁴⁰ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 4-L4.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Case 11-F30; cf. FOIN, *The Rev. Louis de Barth*, in the *Records*, vol. ii, pp. 29-37.

⁴² KIRLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

Harolds, even in the long interim of six years which followed Bishop Egan's death, as we learn from Carroll's letter to Plowden, dated June 25, 1815:

By letters from Archbishop Troy, it is given to me to understand that a Rev. Mr. John Connolly, Dominican resident at Rome for 37 years, was nominated in Sept. and consecrated in Novr., as Bishop of N. York. . . . the foregoing lines having remained by me for several days, it has afforded me time to receive a letter from Card. Litta, the prefect of Prgda., by which he confirms the intelligence sent by Abp. Troy of Mr. Connolly's nomination; he moreover states his surprise, that no advices from me have been received at Rome for a long period, that the Rev. Mr. Harold, who two or three years ago was one subject of some correspondence between us, in consequence of his leaving the U. States after an outrageous quarrel with his (now) deceased Bishop and Countryman, Dr. Egan of Phila., and who reported gross falsehoods to Bisp. Milner and others, concerning his Revd. Brethren here, and of myself likewise; that this Mr. Harold is recommended to the Congr. as a fit subject to succeed the deceased Dr. Egan. An uncle of the former, a priest transported from Ireland many years ago to Botany Bay, for disaffection to the British Govt., and who either took or obtained leave to quit that station, arrived at Philadelphia after Dr. Egan's appointment to the government of that diocese, and was associated by the Bp. himself to the pastoral functions of one of the churches there. But he soon differed. Mr. Harold Junr. with his uncle from Botany, gave such continual disgust to the worthy and infirm Bishop, that in a few months after the uncle and nephew were dismissed from pastoral functions, the nephew left America, and some months after, the poor Bishop died. It now seems that tho' the nephew remains in Ireland, the uncle, who was not allowed to return thither, is gone to France and writes from Bordeaux, previously to Bonaparte's return into that kingdom, that the good Abp. of that city had recommended Mr. Harold Junr. to his Holiness to be appointed Bp. of Phila. Dr. Troy confirms this advice adding that some prelates of Ireland have joined in this recommendation, without, however, avowing or denying that he is one of those prelates as I believe he is. (N.B. By a subsequent letter the Abp. acknowledges that he has done so.) How any of these Prelates, and particularly the Ven. Abp. of Bordeaux, could determine themselves to interfere in an affair so foreign to their concern, and to which they are so incompetent, is a matter of surprise. Intrigue must have been very active, but besides this some fatality has befallen my letter to Rome. The original of Novr. 1814, and triplicate copies of them were forwarded, and two of them by safe persons, under cover to the Nuncio at Paris. Yet none were received at Rome, March 11th. They conveyed the names of the two persons recommended by all the Bishops here, one of whom shall fill the vacant See. I need not add that not one had an idea of nominating

Mr. Harold. It is a satisfaction to read the following words in Cardl. Litta's letter—"Relatum est S. Congri. neminem ad regendam illam Diocesim aptiorem esse P. Gul. Vinco Harold, concionatore praestantissimo. Non satis nobis compertum est, an in illo concurrant reliquae dotes omnes quae Episcopum decent, et num illius electio satis probata sit Amplitudini Tuae, quae in ipsa diocesi Metropolitanum jus exercet. Cupio igitur ut sententiam tuam de proposita hac electione mihi aperire in Domino velis; ac optata tua responsa quam citius expectans, etc." As to my personal feelings on this subject, I am almost indifferent, but for the sake of the Clergy and congrs. of Pennsa. and especially Philada., I deprecate his appointment which would be a signal for rancour, religious, and political; religious, between the friends of the holy deceased Bp. and partisans of Harold; political between the opponents of furious democracy and innovators upon established governments, or rather, those who are always ripe for innovations, glossed over with the fair pretexts of the *rights of the people*.⁴³

Notwithstanding the assurance contained in Cardinal Litta's letter, as above quoted, the Haroldites of Philadelphia were exhibiting some correspondence from William Vincent to the effect that he had been actually appointed to the See of Philadelphia, chiefly on the recommendation of the Irish bishops. Archbishop Carroll lost no time in informing the Metropolitan of Dublin that he would brook no interference from foreign sources in the management of his archdiocese, and that no "irregular interposition or recommendation" of the friends in Ireland of Mr. Harold, not even of Archbishop Troy himself, would be allowed to stand without a strong protest. "I do not and probably shall not hear of Harold's appointment," he caustically remarks to Plowden in a letter dated October 13, 1815—probably his last letter in a correspondence stretching over forty years.⁴⁴ That he was ready to contest Harold's reappearance in Philadelphia, even though appointed by Propaganda to the See, is evident from a letter to Bishop Neale, ordering him to communicate at once with Father de Barth, so that "no time should be lost in giving directions to Mr. de Barth to repair to Philadelphia, maintain the mastership of the house, the old chapel and premises."⁴⁵

⁴³ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 861.

Shortly after Bishop Egan's death, Archbishop Carroll communicated with the other bishops of the country (Neale, Cheverus, and Flaget), calling their attention to the fact that the suggestion made in their joint letter to Rome (November, 1810) to the effect that the nomination for vacant dioceses proceed "solely from the archbishop and bishops" of this country, had not been answered :

Right Revd. Sir,

The lamented death of our venerable Brother in God, the Rt. Revd. Dr. Michael Egan, Bishop of Philada. on the 22d of July, has without doubt caused you to reflect with pain that an answer has not been received to our joint letter to His Holiness written in consequence of our deliberations in Novr. 1810, concerning several points for the future government of our American churches, and especially for filling up the vacancies, which would certainly ensue in the Episcopal Sees. That of New York has been long vacant, and the same has lately happened in Philada. You may remember and see by referring to our proceedings, chapter 4th, that we respectfully solicited the permission of the Holy See, (provided it would permit the nomination to proceed solely from the Archbishop and Bishops of this ecclesiastical province).

No answer has been received, nothing can be done authoritatively in this matter. Yet the conditions and distractions of the Church of Philada. require immediate attention. With respect to N. York, it has transpired, that His Holiness whilst prisoner at Savona, soon after the death of Dr. Concanen, had it in consideration to appoint a successor, but it being uncertain whether the appointment was made, no step should be taken in that concern, till we hear from Rome. The case is different at Philada. for the reason alleged above, and tho' no nomination can proceed for any person or persons in the United States, yet I deem it advisable to consult you on the propriety of recommending one or more subjects to the Holy See, one of whom may be approved and appointed to succeed Dr. Egan. If such be your opinion, and that of the other Bishops, I propose moreover to you to inform me whether in your opinion likewise we may proceed immediately on the business, transacting it by letter on account of our immense distance. The mode, which appears to me the best suited to the present exigency is for the Bishop of Boston, the administrators of the diocese of N. York and Philada., the Bishop of Kentucky, the Coadjutor Bishop of Gortyna and myself to join in choosing one, two or three persons, best esteemed by us and send on their names, character &c. to Rome, with our respective recommendation. But however our choice be completed, I must request your approbation for me to consult the most discreet and experienced of the clergy of Pennsylvania, as to their opinions concerning the persons who will ap-

pear to us most worthy and fit to govern the Diocese with advantage and restore its peace.⁴⁶

Bishop Neale replied on September 1, 1814, from Georgetown as follows:

Right and Most Revd. Sir:

Your esteemed favour of the 23d ult. came to hand five days after date. The confused state of things here has delayed my answer till now. As to the two points on which you have requested my opinion, viz.: whether it be advisable to recommend one or more subjects to the Holy See, and one of whom may be approved and appointed to succeed Dr. Egan in Pennsylvania, and, 2d—whether it be not proper to proceed immediately on the business and transact it by letter on account of our immense distance.

I answer affirmatively to both, and I think that the disturbed and agitated state of the Church in Philadelphia loudly calls for an immediate dispatch in the business, as may possibly be.

The mode of procedure proposed in your R'v'ces favour is, in my opinion, the best that can be adopted, because it will not only effect the business more speedily but also will avoid tumult and bustle. Mr. Nesper being on his return to Europe, and well disposed not only to take charge of our dispatch, but also to have them conveyed to their destination, affords us the most favourable opportunity of approaching the Holy See and settling Church matters in America, give me leave to suggest the propriety of applying to His Holiness to furnish us with something in favor of the Society of Jesus, in America, which may extricate the Bishops from those difficulties which arise from the Ganganellian Brief. Perhaps we shall never meet with a better opportunity of effecting so desirable an object and I confide you will deem it obligatory to embrace it.

You have no doubt been fully informed of the humiliated situation of the City of Washington. I need say nothing about it, as the Federal Republican has given a temperate and just detail, not only of the destruction affected in the City, but also of the principal transactions that took place on the occasion. The British vessels are now lying in Alexandria, loading their craft with the spoils of the distressed inhabitants. Geo. Town is completely fortified against them and puts them in defiance. Porter, Rogers, and Perry with their chosen band are fixt some distance below Alexandria, waiting for the enemies' descent. Their situation is such as to afford sound expectations of completely intercepting them.

George Town has to be singularly grateful to God for His extraordinary protection. For during the enemies' stay and rage in the City, not one of them entered George Town nor injured anything belonging to it. Deo infinitas gratias. All are well here. The Sisters present their

⁴⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 5-9I; printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 66-67.

profound respects. Be pleased to remember me kindly to the Rev. Messrs. Fenwick, Mertz, Marshall, Morinville, and the Gentlemen of the Seminary. Receive my sincerest wishes and believe me with all respect and esteem.

Yr. Most Obt. H. Svt. and Br. in Xt.

✠ LEOND. NEALE, *Bishop of Grtina.*⁴⁷

Bishop Cheverus wrote on September 2, 1814, from Newcastle, Maine:

I have sincerely lamented the death of our venerable brother in Philadelphia and the troubles and divisions which, I am told, have accelerated the mournful event. The mode you propose for recommending a fit person for his successor appears to be the best that can be devised, and I think, like you, that it is proper and even necessary that you should consult the most discreet and experienced of the diocese of Pennsylvania. Your Grace remembers, no doubt, that at the same time that the 4th resolution was agreed to, the recommendation to the Holy See of a fit subject for New York was left to you alone. I wish also in the present instance that you would take upon yourself to recommend a subject for Philadelphia. For my part I am not competent to give any opinion. I am very little acquainted with the clergy of Pennsylvania and I have never known exactly what were the difficulties of St. Mary's. Should you however wish that I should concur with you in this affair, have the goodness to direct me. I shall feel safe in following your directions. Whatever we do must certainly be done by letter. The distance and the times do not allow of any other mode. But the best mode would be that the venerable Father of the American Church should alone recommend whomsoever in his wisdom will be the most likely to restore peace to the distracted Church in Philadelphia."⁴⁸

In order to facilitate the speedy nomination of Egan's successor, the archbishop wrote to Neale, on September 27, 1814, announcing his choice of candidates:

Right Rev. Sir:

After having received the concurrent views of those whom it was my duty to consult, excepting that of Bishop Flaget not yet come to hand, I have now to consult you (privately) for your vote and nomination of the two persons whom you prefer for the See of Philada., not conceiving ourselves confined in our choice to the Diocese of Philada. I have the following persons particularly in my views: The Revd. Messrs. David, Du Bourg, Hurley and Gallitzin. As to Mr. Du Bourg I have some doubt

⁴⁷ Printed in the *Researches*, vol. x, pp. 181-182.

⁴⁸ Printed in the *Records*, vol. xxii, pp. 151-152.

of the propriety of his being offered by us to the consideration of His Holiness, he being out of this ecclesiastical province and his present station being that of administrator of the diocese of New Orleans immediately dependent upon the Pope, tho' he is quite disgusted with the situation which probably he would be willing to exchange for the Bishop of Philada., and which he would adorn by his talents and virtues. But there appears to me much more constancy and perhaps more prudence and perhaps more useful talents in Mr. David. There is in the opinion of all a great fund of capacity in Mr. Hurley, but some contend that his outward demeanor requires to be matured by the lapse of a few more years and that his impetuosity is rather too vehement and uncircumspect. Of Mr. Gallitzin, for many years, I know but little, the load of debt which he has contracted and the uneasiness thereby produced is a serious objection. To give every information in my power it is proper to add that Mr. de Barth, now Vicar Gen'l of the Diocese has been mentioned by some as a fit person. He is certainly so in some respects, and in particular his firmness of mind is qualified to stand a turbulent party at Philada.; but his temper is very warm, his passions sudden and fearless; theological knowledge too limited for the contemplated station without a hope of improving it, and he has been long unable to bear steady reading, and very little writing, at least in his account of himself. One of the Pennsylvania clergymen is desirous of including the Rev. Ben. Fenwick in the nomination for Philada., and tho' I am sensible to the impropriety, if not the improbability of removing him from New York, yet to make you as knowing as myself it is proper to mention him to you.⁴⁹

To the other bishops, Carroll sent the following letter :

Right Rev. Sir:

The Right Rev. Bishops and Rev. Gentlemen, who have been consulted about providing for the vacant Diocese of Philadelphia, conceive it to be their duty to look for the fittest subject and most likely to promote the glory of God, and the benefits of true religion, not only amongst the clergy of the vacant Diocese but likewise of other Dioceses, with a view of exhibiting their names and qualifications to His Holiness the Pope. The following persons have been mentioned hitherto of whom some one is most likely to meet the approbation of all concerned in the appointment to be made at Rome.

They are Messrs. David of the Diocese of Bardstown, and Du Bourg, administrator of the Diocese of Louisiana. The first of these is nominated by all consulted, and the second by Messrs. Gallitzin and Hurley, of the Diocese of Pennsylvania. The only objection to Mr. David is the difficulty of removing him from the good Bishop of Bardstown. He is eminent in prudence, constancy, ecclesiastical learning, piety, zeal for instruction. The talents of Mr. Du Bourg are

* Printed in the *Researches*, vol. x, pp. 183-184.

generally known, but it may be doubted whether it is proper to nominate him, who is out of this ecclesiastical province, and in an independent station, as administrator of the Bishopric of New Orleans, dependent immediately to the Holy See. You should know however that Mr. Du Bourg is much dissatisfied with his situation, and probably would be glad to exchange it with the Bishop of Philadelphia. The Rev. Mr. Gallitzin has for many years lived so far distant that I cannot speak with confidence of his present dispositions. He has made sacrifices of worldly rank and performed actions of disinterested zeal; his literary and I presume Theological requirements are considerable. But a strong objection to his preferment is a great load of debt, incurred rashly though for excellent and charitable purposes. The Rev. Mr. Hurley has uncommon talents which, with some leisure for improvement of them, will enable him to acquire eminence in science. He might now be a useful prelate, but in the opinion of some will be more unexceptional at a more advanced period of life.

While the prelates of the Church were counseling and recommending proper candidates to the Holy See, as successor of Bishop Egan, the Haroldites were not inactive. It has been stated that the ambition of Rev. Wm. V. Harold, and the cause of his discontent with Bishop Egan, was that he desired to be named as coadjutor with right to succession, but that Bishop Egan would not consent to so nominate.

After the death of the Bishop, however, the adherents of Father Harold began a vigorous movement to have him nominated as bishop. The influence of some of the prelates in Ireland was brought to the aid of the Holy See in determining the selection of a bishop in the United States.⁵⁰

William Vincent Harold's activities in his own behalf brought to unenviable light the plotting for episcopal power in America which was brewing in certain ecclesiastical centres abroad. On March 22, 1815, Archbishop Troy reported to Carroll that James Harold was busy securing recommendations from French prelates for his nephew's nomination to Philadelphia.⁵¹ On September 1, 1815, Plowden, who was prejudiced against Troy for other reasons, repeated to Carroll the current gossip of the day: "I must assure you of the interest which I take in your very grounded and just complaints of undue interference in the nomi-

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 185-186; cf. HENNER, in the *Records*, vol. vi, pp. 450-458.

⁵¹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-N8.

nations to your new American Sees. I have long known the wonderful activity of Irish Friars [Dominicans] to get their heads into mitres, and I have often been amazed at the success of their paltry intrigues." ⁸² That Troy had directly interfered in the case of Harold is not altogether true, since in reply to one of Carroll's letters, he says: "If I interfered in the appointment of a Bishop for Philadelphia by a direct recommendation of Rev. Mr. Harold, I must confess my having acted irregularly and improperly. But, if I recollect right, I only stated the interference of others, for your Grace's information. However this be, I regret exceedingly any irregular act of mine should afford a moment's uneasiness or anxiety to your Grace." ⁸³ This statement naturally has no bearing on the question of Concanen's election to the See of New York. Whether Troy was responsible for that appointment has already been discussed in a previous chapter. Plowden wrote again (October 2, 1815), saying that the news was abroad in England that Harold's appointment had been decided upon at Rome. Archbishop Carroll's letter to Cardinal Litta, July 17, 1815, ⁸⁴ placed the problem in a more definite light before the Roman officials, and the candidacy of Harold, so far as Propaganda was concerned, was not received with favour. ⁸⁵

Before a final judgment is passed, however, on Father William Vincent Harold's part in this first stage of the ecclesiastical history of the Diocese of Philadelphia, it is only fair to give *verbatim* a letter, written in his favour by Father John Ryan, O.P., dated Lisbon, December 14, 1819. Ryan, as will be seen in a subsequent chapter, had little affection for Dr. Carroll and caused him months of anxiety by certain charges he made regarding Carroll's attitude towards Bishop Milner on the Veto question, then being intensely mooted in English Catholic circles. The letter, so far as can be ascertained, seems to have escaped research-students, and it is one of the few documents in English, in the Propaganda Archives. It is impossible to ascertain to whom the letter is addressed:

⁸² *Ibid.*, Case 8B-C1.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, Case 8B-K2.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Case 8B-Ca.

⁸⁵ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. iii, ff. 338-339.

My Lord,

If I were not well convinced of your Grace's esteem for my friend Harold, and of the interest you take in his welfare, I should hardly put even your Grace's characteristic condescension, to the test, by a letter from one so insignificant as myself. The truth however is; that accounts from Rome have lately reached him, which place him in a predicament, such as requires a defence of his conduct in America; and I agree with him in the opinion that he himself could not well undertake that task, without betraying some sort of egotism in its execution.

Your Grace is aware that the Catholics of Philadelphia have long, and most anxiously besought the Holy See, to give them Mr. Harold as their Bishop; whilst Doctor Marehall the Archbishop of Baltimore, has evinced an equal eagerness to procure the appointment of a Frenchman whom they consider incompetent to the duties of such a station in their Church. In truth the Catholics of the United States, consider the Archbp. and his advisers as engaged in a systematic plan, for the exclusion from the Church of America, of every clergyman who is not a native of France. The pertinacity with which this system is continued, together with the ridicule, and contempt excited among the various sectarians in America by the attempts of these foreigners to preach in the English language, has already goaded the Catholics to such a state of irritation that consequences truly alarming are but too likely to result from this conflict, between the ambition of the Frenchmen on one side, and the indignation of the people on the other. The laws of the United States, give each denomination of christians, an undoubted right to *elect* their clergy. Your Grace will perceive how injuriously the exercise of such a right, might operate against the essential spirit which pervades the discipline of the Catholic church. This consideration has served hitherto, in restraining the American Catholics, from any serious attempts to avail themselves of this legal right. How far it may continue to restrain them, must depend on the prudence, and moderation of their Prelates, and on the promptitude of the Holy See, in removing all reasonable causes of discontent.

It now appears that the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda had made arrangements to gratify the Catholics of Philadelphia, by the appointment of Mr. Harold, but was hindered by the interposition of the Archbp. of Baltimore, who stated that as an objection some former disagreements between Mr. Harold and some of the higher clergy in America. I flatter myself that by the time your Grace shall have perused this letter, you will have perceived, how shamefully the interested cunning of the Archbishop's advisers, has influenced or deceived him and through him misled the Cardinal Prefect. Altho' I am sure that the explanation will be too late, to affect the nomination to the See of Philadelphia, I do earnestly beseech your Grace to make it known at Rome, in justification of Mr. Harold's character.

The disagreement to which the Archbishop alludes, took place in 1813. The late Doctor Egan was then Bishop of Philadelphia and Mr. Harold

his Vicar General was one of the Pastors of the Church of St. Mary's; The Revd. James Harold was the second. Doctor Egan was attached to this church as his Cathedral, and resided with the Messrs. Harold, the congregation allowing a stipulated sum for their joint support. It is necessary to observe here, that most of the congregations in that country are legal corporations, and that they annually elect certain individuals as Trustees. These officers become in point of law, the exclusive managers of the temporalities of their Church. Unfortunately, the persons elected to this office for the year 1813, entertained some unaccountable antipathy against old Mr. Harold. Their first act under their new authority was to announce to the Bishop, that they considered his lordship and the Reverend William V. Harold sufficient for the performance of the various duties of the Church, and that they therefore demanded the dismissal of the Revd. James Harold. That this proposal should have appeared offensive to the Bishop, under any circumstance, will not surprise your Grace—How much more so when you hear that the Congregation of the district consisted of more than twelve thousand souls, and that the proposal of the trustees, implied nothing less, than that the Bishop should do the duties of a curate. He rejected it of course; and immediately received a notification from the trustees that they would discontinue all pecuniary support, not only to the Revd. James Harold, but also to the Revd. W. V. Harold, and even Doctor Egan himself.

This proceeding appeared to his Lordship not only an act of injustice, but an invasion of his right in the government of his church, which could not be opposed too soon, or too strongly; especially as it might lead to further innovations totally subversive of Catholic discipline. He therefore summoned a meeting of the whole Congregation, who heard of this strange conduct, with the utmost indignation, and passed resolutions reprobating the trustees, and declaring that not one of them should ever again be elected to that office. Such however was the strictness of the law, that no power remained in the congregation to remove these men, until the expiration of the year; so that the Bishop and clergy of St. Mary's were left destitute of all means of support, except what the voluntary aid of individuals, might casually afford.

Unfortunately Doctor Egan could not number the virtue of fortitude, among the many other virtues which certainly belonged to his character; and the Revd. James Harold who was the occasion of many privations now imposed on the clergy, became gradually an object of dislike to him. It was equally unfortunate that this poor old man's temper had been soured by age and misfortunes; and in a very short time, they became so totally estranged from each other as to involve the younger Mr. Harold in the utmost perplexity. Warmly attached to the Bishop as well by ties of personal regard, as by the respect due to his Lordship's station, Mr. Harold could not venture to espouse his Uncle's conduct, nor did it become him, on the other hand, to abandon his relative—Wishing to escape from this distressing alternative, he could find only one way; which was to resign his own place, and thus afford to his Uncle the

example of that submission to circumstances, which became both. Yet before Mr. Harold finally adopted this measure, he besought the interference of Doctor Carroll, the late Archbishop of Baltimore.

Hitherto your Grace has had no better authority than mine, for the truth of the facts I have mentioned. Permit me now to give you a much better, in that of Doctor Carroll—I transcribe his letter to Mr. Harold, dated February 20, 1813—

"Rev. Sir—

Yesterday I attempted in vain to give an answer to your esteemed favour of the 16th, received the preceding day. The bad weather this morning, will probably preserve me from the interruptions which I daily experience—You do me justice in believing that I have endeavoured, as much as I ought in discretion, to settle the differences of St. Mary's Church. When I undertook to advise the Bishop to hold an *extra official* conference with the trustees, it was with the fond expectation of its terminating in friendly explanations and a good understanding between himself and his two Revd. brothers on one side, and the trustees on the other. This expectation proved vain. I proposed nothing further, until you came to Baltimore—at least nothing which is now remembered. After your arrival here (tho' it gives me pain to mention, what it is painful to you to hear) the Bishop wrote, that your Uncle had again embittered his peace of mind, by giving vent to new outrageous sallies of temper, which made it highly inexpedient for them to live together, and that your Uncle must be removed. In this I concurred with him; knowing how common it is for families, and individuals, to cease living together, for some incompatibilities of humours, without a breach of charity or cause of disedification—I am still of this opinion, but do not foresee how matters are afterwards to be regulated. *My greatest apprehension is your disgust, and consequent determination of leaving Philadelphia;* which indeed your letter indicates, as a matter concluded, and which, in my estimation, *is one of the greatest misfortunes that can befall that Diocese, and the American Church generally.* The Bishop as I have been informed is to leave Philadelphia next week for Baltimore—For heaven's sake, suspend any further proceedings or engagements, until I can see him."

So far for Dr. Carroll's testimony on the real state of the differences which the present Archbishop has objected as a bar to Mr. Harold's appointment—Before I transcribe for your Grace's perusal a further confirmation of those facts from the same high authority, it is right to mention that Doctor Egan not having gone to Baltimore; and his disputes with the Revd. James Harold becoming more disagreeable to the Revd. W. V. Harold, he formally resigned his place & proceeded to Baltimore where I resided at that time.

The departure of Mr. Harold was productive of consequences which he could not have foreseen—On the following Sunday, the Church was quite deserted by all, except the trustees, and the renters of the pews,

locked out, going to other churches to hear mass. As soon as an account of this transaction reached Baltimore, I proceeded to Philadelphia, at the earnest request of Mr. Harold, and with the approbation of the Archbishop, and prevailed on the Congregation to return to their church. For this act which was, I assure your Grace, a matter of some difficulty, I received the warm acknowledgments of the Bishop of Philadelphia, who shed tears when I told him that I had come at the earnest request of W. V. Harold. He was however too far committed with the trustees who had lately begun to practice on him, and in truth too much irritated against old James Harold, to leave any hope for an adjustment of their differences.

Under circumstances thus distressing to the feelings of Mr. Harold, he considered it most prudent to return to Ireland, and make arrangements for his Uncle's settlement there—I returned with him for the same purpose, but before our departure from America the Catholics of Baltimore, made us most flattering offers to induce us to settle there. Your Grace will perceive the allusions of the Archbishop to this last circumstance, in the copy of his letter to the Archbishop of Dublin, which I now proceed to transcribe, for the purpose of proving to you that Dr. Carroll's testimony on this occasion as to the nature of the differences with the Bishop of Philadelphia, was the same at our departure, as his letter already quoted, shows it to have been in February 1813—

"Most Revd. and dear Lord,

The intended return into Ireland of the Rev. Messrs. W. V. Harold and Ryan, presents to me some prospects of the following lines reaching your Grace's hands, and I wish it could be added that there is some reasonable expectation of the renewal of our long interrupted correspondence. When the former of the above named Gentlemen came to America, he fell under the authority of the Right Rev. Bishop of Philadelphia, of course I have not enjoyed the advantage of his talents, excepting *in transitu* on which occasions his manners were always dignified, and highly becoming; and his sermons, when he was able to gratify public curiosity, and the earnestness of solicitation, will render his departure a lasting subject of regret. It belongs to the Bishop of Philadelphia in whose diocese, he has been constantly employed, to furnish him with the proper, and usual testimonials of his regular conduct, which he undoubtedly has done notwithstanding some late dissatisfaction, not occasioned, as far as I know and believe, by any impropriety in his public, moral, or ministerial deportment, but by discordancy of opinion. My flock, at least a considerable portion of them, were very anxious for his establishment here, and indeed I myself wished to preserve him in this country—He will be accompanied by his intimate friend Mr. Ryan. Since his coming to the United States, or soon after, he resided at this place, and gave not only to me, but to the Congregations generally, entire satisfaction, by the beauty and solidity of his discourses, and the suavity of his manners. I owe to him my testimony for his religious, and regular conduct

in my diocese. The loss of clergymen of their abilities, will be felt here very much.

(Signed) ✠ JOHN, *Abp. of Baltimore*
Baltimore, April 12, 1813—

I owe your Grace, many apologies, for this intrusion on your valuable time, and yet I must claim somewhat more of your kind indulgence while I allude to one more topic which, for aught I know, may have its share in affording to the French clergy matter for the ingenuity they have evinced, in deceiving the present Archbishop of Baltimore.

Previously to the American revolution, the piety of many Catholic individuals and the industry of the Jesuit missionaries, had accumulated a landed property amounting to many thousand acres, and lying in various parts of Maryland. These estates are now under the care of two or three clergymen allotted to each, and are cultivated by slaves. The whole (that is both land and slaves) belongs to the Clergy of Maryland in their capacity as a lay corporation, by law established. Your Grace is aware of the zeal of many sects in America, to discourage slavery. A trite topic of remark, and no trifling occasion for scandal, among those people, is furnished by the fact, that the Catholic clergy are principal slave owners, in their corporate capacity; and a great portion of the Catholics, lament the existence of such a system, which they consider injurious to the character of their religion, and consequently to its progress.

On the return of Mr. Harold and myself from America, we spoke of this circumstance, as an exception to those reasons which led to a hope for our faith rapidly advancing in America. This conversation which took place at the house of a London Clergyman, found its way to Archbishop Carroll, loaded with some misrepresentation, and in the year 1815, he wrote a rather angry letter to Bishop Moylan of Cork, on the subject. This being communicated to us, we lost not a moment, in giving an explanation which we requested Bishop Moylan to communicate to Archbishop Carroll. While we disclaimed any idea of blaming him for evils resulting from the system in question, we took occasion to urge our objections against it; in the hope (however faint) of inducing the corporation to farm out their estates; and thus remove a source of scandal to weak Christians. So anxiously did we feel on this subject, that we sent a copy of his Grace's letter of complaint, with our answer, to Cardinal Litta. His Eminence after perusing these documents told Bishop Connolly of New York who was yet at Rome, that they had made such an impression on his mind, as should induce him to preserve them.

I beg to refer his Eminence the Prefect of the Propaganda to the letters which I am sure that the above mentioned illustrious Cardinal will readily explain to him; and I confidently rely on their producing a conviction on his mind, not only that they cannot afford the least pretence for objections against Mr. Harold's nomination; but also that they will appear to possess some claim to his Eminence's attention, as connected with the slave establishments of the Maryland Corporation of Clergymen.

May I entreat your Grace to pardon my boldness in giving so much trouble—I remain with affectionate regard and veneration,

Your Grace's obedient Servant,

JOHN RYAN ⁸⁶

The vacancy in New York was four years old in 1814, and the vacancy in Philadelphia was to last even longer. Without an answer from Rome to the Agreement of 1810, Archbishop Carroll had felt great hesitancy in doing anything regarding these two vacancies. Nevertheless, he decided that the danger of foreign meddling was so proximate, that the names of several candidates should be sent at once to Rome. But no decision was reached before the end of the year (1815), and Archbishop Carroll passed away before a settlement for Philadelphia was made. Disaster was in the air, and "the angel of the Church in Philadelphia" must have shielded its face with its wings, when Irish meddlers prevailed at Rome, and the man, whose appointment to Philadelphia was more surprising to Archbishop Curtis of Armagh than if he had been made Emperor of China—the Rev. Dr. Conwell, of Dungannon, Ireland, arrived in Philadelphia, December 2, 1820, with what result it is unnecessary to mention here.⁸⁷ John Carroll had fought all his life long to maintain independence for the Church he governed. He died with the consciousness of failure and defeat.

⁸⁶ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. iv, ff. 348-353. This letter would seem to be in reply to a demand from Propaganda for further information on the difficulties in Philadelphia, since Father Ryan wrote to the Cardinal-Prefect, from Lisbon, on January 16, 1819, giving the Haroldite view. (*Propaganda Archives, ibid.*, ff. 273-275.)

⁸⁷ Cf. *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. vi, p. 262.

CHAPTER XXXIII
THE SUFFRAGAN SEES: IV. BARDSTOWN
(1808-1815)

"The story of Kentucky," says Father O'Daniel in his scholarly *Life of Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati*, "with the fascinating legends of its battlefields and hunting grounds of the aboriginal American, and the traditions of its daring explorer, Daniel Boone, the bold, hardy pioneer hunters, and its brave, picturesque backwoodsmen, never lacks interest. Indeed, the early annals of few of our States so abound in lustre, or are so rich in a charm that is ever old, still always new."¹ Few sections of the Catholic Church in the United States have been so thoroughly studied during the past century. One of the earliest, and from a critical point of view, one of the best local histories we possess is Badin's *Origine et Progrès de la Mission du Kentucky*, published in Paris in 1821. Spalding's *Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky* (1787-1827), published in Louisville, Ky., in 1844, and his *Life, Times, and Character of Bishop Flaget*, published in 1852, are the main sources for the history of the vast Diocese of Bardstown. Later works, such as Maes' *Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx* (Cincinnati, 1880), Alerding's *Diocese of Vincennes* (Indianapolis, 1883) and especially O'Daniel's *Life of Bishop Fenwick* (Washington, D. C., 1920), have added considerably to the documentary evidence for the story of Flaget's immense jurisdiction. In the Brief *Ex debito pastoralis* of April 8, 1808, which divided Bishop Carroll's diocese into five parts, the Diocese of Bardstown is thus outlined: "Quartam Barj—Goun, id est in oppido seu civitate Bardensi, eique in Diocesim statuimus provincias tam Hentuchiensen quam Tenassensem, ac illas quoque a Sede hac Apostolica aliter provideatur regiones, quae a ripa occidentali fluminis Ohio inter occidentem et septentrionem excurrunt ad ingentes lacus, qui eas

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

inter et Canadensem Dioecesim interjacent, hasque legendo pertinent ad fines Pennsylvaniae."² Today this original territory is divided into twenty-five dioceses.³ With Kentucky and Tennessee as the actual limits of the Diocese of Bardstown in 1808, Bishop Flaget held temporary jurisdiction over all the territory northwest of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi. Bardstown, says Shea, differed essentially from the bishoprics erected on the Atlantic coast—Boston, New York, and Philadelphia:

The State of Kentucky began to be settled about the commencement of the revolutionary troubles. Then men from Virginia and Maryland made their way to the lands south of the Ohio, and began to clear the forest and build up a new commonwealth. Many of the emigrants were Catholics; some of the first to fall by the way, or, after reaching Kentucky, by the hands of the Indian foe, were Catholics. They helped to found and build up the new State; sturdy backwoodsmen, strong, brave, earnest, they were the peers of those around them. Life was plain and rude, comforts were few, luxuries unknown. Priests struck into the wilderness to attend these clustered bodies of the faithful, who in God's providence selected generally the poorest, but perhaps the healthiest situations. The Carmelite Paul of St. Peter, the Capuchin Whelan, and Rev. Father Rohan, effected little. It was not till Bishop Carroll had ordained his first priest, Rev. Stephen T. Badin, and sent him to Kentucky, that any real commencement was made for the Church. Then came the day of log churches, and long priestly journeys to the Catholic settlements. Rev. John Thayer came and went. Rev. Fathers Salmon and Fournier came to labour till death. Rev. Charles Nerinckx came to toil like a hero, form church after church, create a sisterhood, draw recruits for the priesthood from his own Belgium, as well as vestments, plate, paintings, and other requirements for the churches, which he divided ungrudgingly. The Dominicans, guided by the advice of Bishop Carroll, established a convent and college. Thus Kentucky had a life of its own.⁴

There were Catholic congregations scattered over the whole of this large territory. On the morrow of his arrival at Bardstown, June 9, 1811, Bishop Flaget found himself chief shepherd of a flock that was scattered from the Canadian border southwards to the savannahs of Georgia. Where were his people

² DeMARTINIS, *Jus Pontificium de P. F.*, vol. iv, p. 310.

³ Nashville, Louisville, Covington, Columbus, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit, Grand Rapids, Marquette, Superior, Green Bay, Milwaukee, La Crosse, Duluth, Crookston, St. Cloud, St. Paul, Chicago, Rockford, Peoria, Alton, Belleville, Fort Wayne and Indianapolis.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 264-265.

located? what churches had already been built? what ones were under construction? who were his clergy? and what were the general conditions, favourable and adverse, under which his faithful were living in these wild and only partly known regions?—these were some of the problems he discussed with his companion and successor in the Bardstown episcopate, Father John David, as the two missionaries and apostles of the Faith made their way over the mountains of Maryland and western Pennsylvania down the broad Ohio during that wonderful journey in the summer of 1811. The States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and a part of Minnesota were to be his field of labour for the next forty years. In Kentucky alone was there any great nucleus of Catholics. Spalding, in his *Sketches*, says: "In the State itself there were about a thousand Catholic families, with an aggregate population, not exceeding six thousand souls. There were thirty congregations, ten churches or chapels already built, and six in process of creation."⁵ The earliest Catholic emigrants into Kentucky had come from Maryland and Virginia in 1775; and as the Catholic population increased they settled mainly in and around the little hamlet of Bardstown. After 1785, distinctive Catholic colonies came from Maryland, and settlements were made at Pottinger's Creek, Harrod's Town, and elsewhere. It was to these little congregations that the first resident missionary, Father Charles Whelan, came in the spring of 1787. After Father Whelan's departure (1790), the Rev William de Rohan visited the Kentucky missions, and it was he who built the first Catholic church in the State, that dedicated to the Holy Cross, at Pottinger's Creek. The Rev. Stephen Badin, the next missionary to come to Kentucky, had accompanied Flaget, David, and Chicoisneau from France in 1792, and arrived at Baltimore on March 26 of that year; he was then in minor orders. After completing his theological studies at St. Mary's Seminary, he was ordained by Bishop Carroll on May 25, 1793—the first priest ordained in the Diocese of Baltimore. Father de Rohan's activities did not meet with Bishop Carroll's approval, and on September 6, 1793, Fathers Badin and Barrières, the latter as vicar-general, were

⁵ P. 98.

sent to Kentucky by Dr. Carroll. The tide of immigration towards the West had set in so strongly, that in 1792, when Kentucky gained admission into the Union, the population amounted to about seventy thousand. No portion of the American Church, says the author of the *Sketches*, owes more to the exiled French clergy of the time than that of Kentucky; and among these refugees the name of Kentucky's great Catholic pioneer, Stephen Badin, will always hold, in spite of his eccentricities, a place of preëminence.⁶ Young as he was—he was then twenty-five—there was no one among the clergy of the country better suited to the rugged missionary life of Kentucky than Father Badin. Travelling on foot from Baltimore to Pittsburgh, Badin and Barrières took a boat and descended the Ohio, past Wheeling, Marietta, and Gallipolis, where they saw the last broken remnants of the Scioto colony. They remained for three days with this destitute congregation, baptized forty children, and reconciled many others to the Sacraments. From Gallipolis they travelled to Maysville, Lexington, and other villages. Father Barrières settled at Bardstown, and Father Badin at White Sulphur, Scott County, about sixteen miles from Lexington. Father Barrières soon grew despondent at the magnitude of the task before him, and, unable to accommodate himself to the rude condition of the times, deserted his post and set out on foot for New Orleans. This was in April, 1794; and alone amid all the dangers of a newly-settled country, the young Badin fought bravely to bring the message of salvation to every part of the State. There can scarcely be any picture more noble or inspiring than that of this cleric of twenty-six, standing bravely at his post, perilous in every way from Indian incursions and from bigots. For three years he was alone in what was a wilderness. The nearest Catholic priest was Father Rivet, who was sent to Post Vincennes in 1795. For many years (1794-1819), Father Badin attended to the spiritual wants of his people, and it is estimated that he spent over three-fourths of that time in the saddle, travelling at least one hundred thousand miles. During this time he received occasional help from other priests—Father Michael Fournier (1797-1803), Father Anthony Salmon

⁶ Pp. 60-61.

(1799), Father John Thayer (1799-1804), and from the Trappists. Father Rivet died in 1804, and so with the exception of two other priests in the whole of the Northwest—Rev. Donatien Olivier at Prairie du Rocher, Illinois, and Father Gabriel Richard at Detroit, Michigan—Father Badin was again alone from 1804 to 1805, when there came to Kentucky one of America's best-known missionaries, Father Charles Nerinckx, who was destined to have even a greater share in the Catholic history of Kentucky than Father Badin.⁷ Charles Nerinckx was ordained to the priesthood at Malines, Belgium, many years before his arrival in Kentucky. He was then (1805) forty years old, and seven years Badin's senior.

The same year (1805) saw the establishment in Kentucky of the American Province of the Order of Friars Preacher. Bishop Carroll, as we have seen, desired that they should make Kentucky the first sphere of their labours; and accordingly in the autumn of 1805, Fathers Wilson and Tuite set out for these missions, and were followed in 1806 by the Superior, Father Fenwick. A house and land were purchased near Springfield in December of that year, St. Rose's Priory, as the place was named, the Mother-House of the Dominicans in the United States, was then established. Bishop Carroll (April 25, 1806) had given his formal consent to the foundation of St. Thomas of Aquin College, which was opened in 1809.⁸

The resources of the Diocese of Bardstown were not, however, very abundant when Bishop Flaget arrived there in June, 1811. The West was not a new territory to Flaget. Born in France, in 1763, the first Bishop of Bardstown joined the Sulpicians and was ordained at Issy in 1787, having for his Superior in the Seminary there the future apostle of Michigan, Father Gabriel Richard. Flaget came to America in 1792, and after spending a short time at Georgetown to study English, Bishop Carroll sent him (1792) to Post Vincennes, then on the frontier of the Baltimore Diocese. Recalled by his Sulpician Superior in 1794-95, he became professor at Georgetown College during the

⁷ MARS, *Life of the Rev. Charles Nerinckx*. Cincinnati, 1880; HOWLETT, *Life of the Rev. Charles Nerinckx*. Techny, 1915.

⁸ Cf. *A New Province of Dominicans*, in O'DANIEL, *Life of the Right Rev. Edward Dominic Fenwick, O.P.*, pp. 99-109. Washington, D. C., 1920.

presidency of Father Du Bourg. In November, 1798, he went to Havana to share in Du Bourg's college scheme, and returned to Baltimore (1801), taking a post on the staff of St. Mary's College, Baltimore, in 1805. He was at Emmitsburg when the Holy See chose him to be the chief shepherd of the Church beyond the Alleghanies.⁹

Bishop Carroll thought Father Flaget especially fitted for the See of Bardstown because of his virtues, his remarkable qualities as a ruler and his acquaintance with the country with whose spiritual government he was to be entrusted. But Father Flaget was unconscious of all this, being convinced that neither his theological learning nor his other well-tried qualities fitted him for the position of bishop. Besides had he not promised never to aspire to an Episcopal See and never to accept one except by the peremptory orders of the Holy Father? When, therefore, the news of his elevation reached him at Emmitsburg, he hurried down to Baltimore and set every expedient in motion to nullify the Bull.¹⁰

His friends went with him to Bishop Carroll in order to decline the honour, but Carroll said it was not in his power to decide, since the nomination had been ratified by the Holy See. On October 18, 1808, Flaget wrote to Dr. Carroll the following letter of protest against his own election:

When I had signified to you my positive determination to decline the dreadful honour to which your goodness is endeavouring to raise me, I began to enjoy a peace of mind to which I had been a stranger from the moment I heard of my promotion. Being, however, told from several quarters that you insist on your unfortunate choice, in hope that time and reflection will wear off my opposition to it, once more I feel my heart overwhelmed with the deepest grief. Dearest father, nothing distresses me more than to afflict or disappoint you, but the motives of my refusal are of such a nature as to make my determination invariable. I earnestly beg of you to oppose it. All that remains then is to improve time to prevent the consequences of useless delay. Bishop Concanen is yet in Italy and will continue there long enough to receive a letter from you before his departure. You have time to make known my refusal to his Holiness, and provisions for another candidate as early as you can expect one. You certainly cannot be at a loss for subjects more meritorious than I am. Were I permitted to offer my ideas, I would suggest that of requesting Bp. Concanen to present one of his own order for

⁹ HERBERMANN, *The Sulpicians*, etc., p. 144. Cf. *Les Épopées du Séminaire de Baltimore*, by Father Tessier (still in MSS.), cited by HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. I, part II, pp. 764-766.

¹⁰ HERBERMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

whom he could absolutely rely for correctness of principles: for as the Fathers already settled here will gain great influence, no check would be more necessary and more effectual than the authority of a Bishop of their own Order. It is to be observed that the elected should be acquainted with the French language, the third part of the Diocese speaking nothing but French. Should this hint be contrary to your views, could you not present Mr. Moranvillé, his talents, his principles, his zeal and conciliatory spirit are well known to you, and he can have none of the reasons for declining the burthen which compel me to deprecate it.

Once more, my Rev. and beloved father, I throw myself at your feet to beg you will put an end to my anxieties. For God's sake have pity on your child, drive him not to extremes, but above all do not render this situation worse by provoking an order from his Holiness; for convinced as I am that it is the will of God I should refuse, I should be placed in a most painful situation, from the impossibilities of reconciling the interests of my conscience with my obedience to the head of the Church.

Allow me to add a prayer that you will put in my hands two duplicates of your letters for Rome, which I engage to convey thither, and if your occupation permit you not to write them yourself, I will have them done for you.¹¹

Later he wrote to implore Carroll: "With tears in my eyes, to let me forever enjoy unmolested the humble post I occupy, which suits a thousand times better than the conspicuous one I obtained through your goodness; without presuming too much, I am confident that I will prove more useful to your Diocese by remaining in the College than in going to Kentucky as a bishop."¹² The appeal was not welcomed by Dr. Carroll, and Flaget then decided to go to Paris to enlist the aid of his Superior, Father Emery. His journey to France in 1809-10 not only brought him the command to accept the See of Bardstown but was also providential in this, that it ensured the safe arrival of the pontifical documents of 1808, which were necessary for the consecration of the new bishops. He left Bordeaux on April 10, 1810, accompanied by Father Bruté and five young ecclesiastics. The little party arrived in Baltimore some time in July of that year;¹³ and, as we have already seen, Flaget's consecration

¹¹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-U1; printed in the *Researches*, vol. xvii, pp. 12-13.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ In his report to Pius VII (April 10, 1815), Flaget states that the letters appointing him to the See of Bardstown did not arrive in America until August 10, 1810. "This statement of Bishop Flaget, that the letters of Pius VII appointing him to the See of Bardstown did not arrive in America until August 10, 1810, suggests a

took place on November 4, 1810. The following May, Bishop Flaget set out for Bardstown. At Pittsburgh, he and Father David, with a Canadian priest, Father Savine, and the subdeacon, Chabrat, met Father Fenwick and his fellow-Dominicans, and the party set out on a flat-boat down the Ohio.¹⁴ Some years later Father David in a letter to a friend (November 20, 1817) described this aspect of their journey in these picturesque words: "The boat on which we descended the Ohio became the cradle of our Seminary, and of the Church of Kentucky. Our cabin was, at the same time, chapel, dormitory, study-room and refectory. An Altar was erected on the boxes and ornamented as far as circumstances would allow. The Bishop prescribed a regulation which fixed all the exercises, and in which each had its proper time . . . After an agreeable journey of thirteen days, we arrived at Louisville, next to Bardstown, and finally at the residence of the Vicar-General."¹⁵ Bishop Flaget was installed in the little building which served as a church on June 9, 1811, by Father Badin, who was vicar-general of the diocese.

doubt on three points in the history of the Church in the United States, which though of minor moment, the Catholic historian would like to see definitely settled. The original papal documents erecting our first archbishopric and four new American sees and appointing their occupants, seem to have been lost or destroyed by French officials on the death of Doctor Concanen. But Concanen, before he attempted to sail from Naples, had authentic copies of these papers made, one set of which he placed in the hands of (Rev.?) John Agenti, his agent at Rome, and sent another to Father Emery, superior of the Sulpicians in France, and a friend of Archbishop Carroll. (Concanen, Rome, March 26, 1810, to Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, Lyons, France: *Baltimore Archives*, Case 14-U4). In the meantime, Bishop-elect Flaget had gone to France in the hope of being freed from the episcopal burden. Obligated to accept the See of Bardstown, he returned to America for his consecration. SHEA (*Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, p. 678), tells us that Monsignor Quarantotti forwarded copies of the above papal papers to Archbishop Carroll by Rev. Maurice Virola, O.S.F., but that Flaget returned to the United States in August, 1810, bringing with him the copies sent to Father Emery; and that Archbishop Carroll acted on the authority of the copies brought by Flaget, when he proceeded to the consecration of the new bishops and to place their dioceses under their charge. On the other hand, SPALDING, (*Life of Bishop Flaget*, p. 65), says Flaget returned to Baltimore early in July, 1810. WREBB, (*The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, p. 214), agrees with Spalding. The three doubtful points are: (1) The date of Bishop Flaget's return to Baltimore. (2) Did Flaget bring with him to America the copies of the papal documents which Concanen sent to Father Emery? This would seem improbable, if, as Spalding (*op. cit.*, p. 165) states, Flaget sailed from France, April 10, 1810; for Concanen's letter to Maréchal, of March 26, shows that these copies were not then completed. (3) What copies of these documents did Archbishop Carroll use as authorization for consecrating Bishops Cheverus, Egan and Flaget?" O'DANIEL, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. i, p. 311 note.

¹⁴ O'DANIEL, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

¹⁵ SPALDING, *Flaget, etc.*, pp. 69-70.

His clergy consisted of three secular priests (Fathers Badin, Nerinckx, and O'Flynn), four Dominicans, and the Sulpician Father David. The following Christmas, he ordained Father Guy Ignatius Chabrat.

Father David had been released from Baltimore by his superiors in order to establish a seminary at Bardstown, and some time after their arrival, a permanent foundation was made on a farm bequeathed to the bishop by Thomas Howard. The professors and the seminarians made the bricks and cut the wood to build this Seminary of St. Thomas, the first institution of its kind to be erected west of the Alleghanies.¹⁶ Both Father Nerinckx and Father David saw the necessity of a religious order of women in the diocese for ecclesiastical and charitable work, and the Sisters of Loretto and the Sisters of Charity were founded in 1812, the former with its mother-house at Loretto, and the latter at Nazareth, Kentucky.¹⁷

After a year spent in visiting his diocese, Bishop Flaget set out for Baltimore. It had been resolved at the meeting of 1810 that a Provincial Council would be held in that city in November, 1812, and although Dr. Carroll had decided that the time was inopportune, the news of its postponement did not reach Flaget in time to prevent his journey to the East. He arrived in Baltimore on November 3, 1812. On April 22, 1813, he set out again for Kentucky. The remainder of the year and the first months of 1814 were spent in completing the Visitation of his diocese; and the result of his long journeyings is embodied in one of the most remarkable papers we possess for this period—his *Report of the State of the Church in this great territory*, sent to Pope Pius VII, under date of April 10, 1815. This document, published for the first time in the *Catholic Historical Review*,¹⁸ shows how admirably Bishop Flaget visualized the conditions of Catholic life in every part of his jurisdiction. In Kentucky, at that time, there were ten priests besides the bishop, six subdeacons, four students in minor orders and six who had been admitted to tonsure. Four of the priests and five of the

¹⁶ Cf. HOWLETT, *Historical Tribute to St. Thomas' Seminary*. St. Louis, 1906.

¹⁷ Cf. WEBB, *The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, pp. 233-244 (*The Sisterhood of Loretto*); pp. 245-260 (*The Sisters of Charity of Nazareth*); cf. DEHEU, *op. cit.*, pp. 50, 58; MINOGUE, *Loretto Annals of the Century*. New York, 1912.

¹⁸ Vol. i, pp. 305-319. (Translation by Rev. V. F. O'Daniel, O.P.)

subdeacons belonged to the Dominicans. Nineteen churches had been erected up to that time.¹⁹ "It is difficult," Flaget writes, "to give the exact number of Catholics living in each congregation (of the State) on account of continual emigrations, either from the older states to Kentucky, or from one part of that State to another, or also to the Territories, or to Louisiana, on account of the desire for new and more fertile land. However, it seems certain that the Catholic souls in this State number not less than ten thousand. Your Holiness will easily understand how impossible it is for so many souls to be looked after properly by ten priests."²⁰ The congregations were far distant, and four of the ten clergymen were engaged in teaching at the seminary and at the Dominican College. In the neighbouring State of Tennessee there were at that time about twenty-five Catholic families, "who are destitute of every help of the Church." On his journey to Baltimore, he had found fifty families in the State of Ohio. There was no hope for their faith, because Flaget had no one to send to them. Not even once a year could he spare a missionary to visit that part of his diocese. In Indiana, he mentions Post Vincennes where he had recently confirmed over 230 persons. Although there are 130 families there, he can do no more than send a priest twice a year to them. In Illinois he mentions the three parishes of Cahokia, Kaskaskia and Prairie du Rocher, where Fathers Olivier and Savine were ministering to the people. He writes:

The Americans who inhabit those regions are for the most part heretics and are generally without ministers of their own sects, and could be brought into the Catholic faith with little difficulty if there were missionaries there who joined to their zeal and doctrine a knowledge of the languages of these people . . . In the territory of Michigan there is a parish called St. Ann's, in a town known as Detroit. It is so large that it seems necessary to divide it into two parts. One contains 1500 souls. The other is in a place called La Rivière aux Raisins, the name of which I do not know [*Saint Anthony of Padua*], which contains about 500 souls. Each is in charge of a Sulpician . . . I could not visit these places on account of the War which was raging at the time of my visitation in these places. Besides these, on my journey, I heard of four French Congregations settled in the midst of the Indians, who belong to my diocese; one on the upper part of the Mississippi [*probably Prairie du Chien, Wis.*], one in

¹⁹ For a list of these churches, cf. O'DANIEL, *Fenwick, etc.*, pp. 78-79.

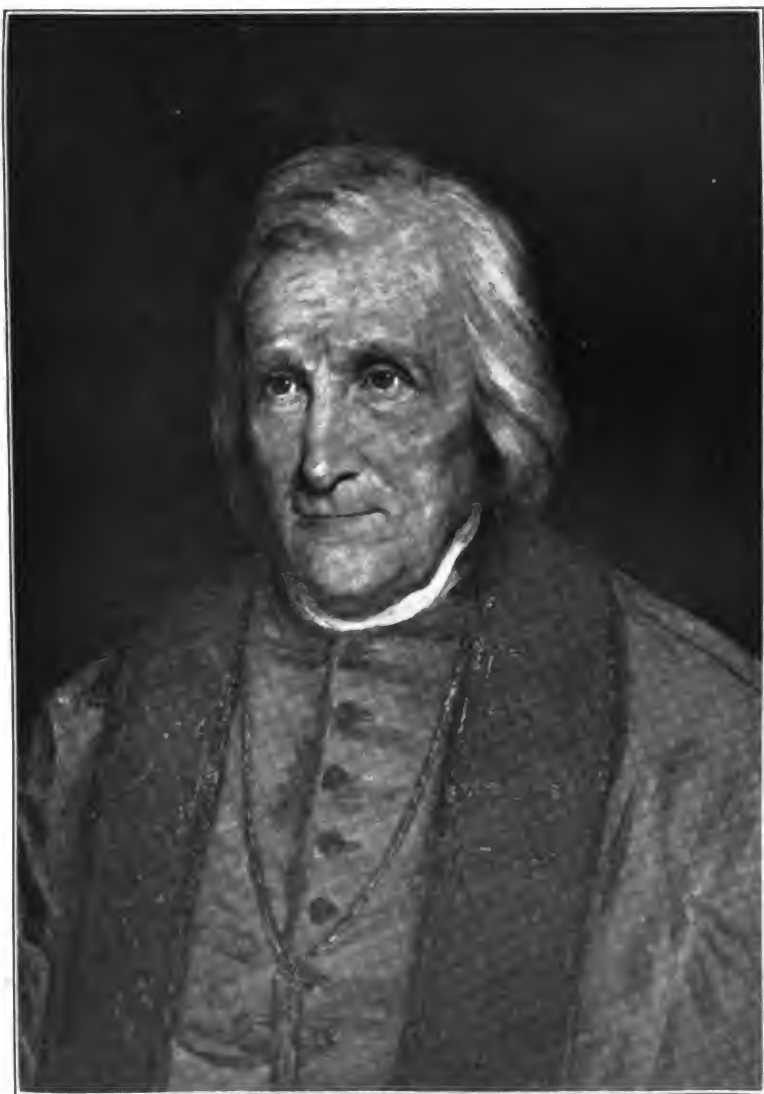
²⁰ *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. I, p. 313.

the place commonly called Chicago, another on the shore of Lake Michigan [*Green Bay*], and a fourth near the head of the Illinois River. But neither the time nor the War would permit me to visit them.²¹

Apart from the "unpleasantness" which had arisen in 1805-06 between Fathers Badin and Nerinckx and the Dominicans, the last echoes of which had by no means died away when Bishop Flaget arrived in 1811, there was another unpleasantness which clouded the early years of his episcopate. When the creation of the Diocese of Bardstown was first mooted, Father Badin, who was vicar-general of this territory for Bishop Carroll, assured the venerable prelate of Baltimore that sufficient revenues for the proper support of a bishop were in existence. This fact Badin repeated in several letters to Flaget before the latter set out for his diocese. "But when I arrived in my diocese," he says in his *Report* to Pius VII, "and asked that this [*property*] be transferred to me, on various pretexts, [*Badin*] said that he would not do so. After many discussions and letters written between us, and even threats of censure, because of his stubbornness in his opinion, fearing that great scandal might arise if the man's boldness and contumacy were known, I waited patiently and kept putting the matter off." It was to bring the matter to a settlement that Flaget was anxious to meet Archbishop Carroll at the proposed Provincial Council in 1812. Badin was a difficult type of clergyman to treat with; and, in order to keep peace, Flaget allowed him to draw up a deed, making over the single property of St. Thomas. He did not doubt Badin's good faith, and consequently the document was drawn up in such a way "that it was thought that his right to the whole property was transferred to me, but he really transferred only his right to half of the property, and the very house in which I am now living with my seminarians was not included in the document." Badin boasted of his chicanery, and Flaget hesitated between two difficulties: "If I suffer any longer such conduct on the part of that man, I am afraid of failing in my duty; if I punish his delinquency, I feel that by his stubbornness and open rebellion he will stir up great scandal and perhaps break out into schism."²²

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 316-318.

²² The story of Father Badin's refusal to convey the church property in Kentucky to Bishop Flaget gives us a peculiar specimen of canon law. During the years that he was Doctor Carroll's vicar-general in the State, Badin acquired considerable land



BISHOP BENEDICT JOSEPH FLAGET

Eventually, in 1819, Badin left Kentucky and returned for a time to France, and the problem solved itself in his absence.²³

In the other States and Territories outside of Kentucky, the *Status animarum* is described with an accuracy of detail which arouses great regret that the other bishops who were pioneers at this time, Carroll included, have not left behind them such abundant records for the history of the Church in this country.

for the Church. This, under Carroll's instructions, he held in his own name, but in trust for the Church. Yet, when the new bishop arrived, Badin positively refused to give him deeds to any of this property. Threats of various ecclesiastical penalties and actual deposition from the position of vicar-general failed to have any effect. The matter dragged along from the time of the bishop's arrival in Kentucky until the autumn of 1812, when the two went to Baltimore. There the affair was laid before Carroll. Bishop Flaget offered to relinquish his claim to the revenues (retaining, however, the right of supervision) from all the other diocesan land, provided Badin would give him an unconditional deed to the farm on which the seminary and the bishop's residence stood. This Badin agreed to do, and Carroll was a witness to the agreement. A deed was handed to Flaget which, as he believed everything had been done in accordance with the above agreement, he accepted in good faith and did not examine. Nearly two years later, hearing that Badin often boasted that he still held legal rights to the seminary, the bishop examined the deed and found that he had been given only one-half of the farm; and that this half was not that on which were his residence and Seminary. (Bishop Flaget, Feb. 16, 1815, to Rev. John Maréchal, Baltimore: *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 21A-C4; and Rev. John David, St. Thomas' Seminary, June 19, 1815, to Archbishop Carroll, Baltimore; *ibid.*, Case 3-A2). Father Badin writing to Rev. John Maréchal, July 14, 1815, gives his side of the controversy in a way that is quite characteristic of him. If the missionary's letter may be trusted, it would seem, indeed, that, unknown to the bishop, Father Nerinckx, who conveyed his rights to the farm in question to Flaget without protest, encouraged Badin in his peculiar course. For in this letter Badin tells Maréchal that he had been advised . . . "by some respectable clergyman to whom I communicated the original writings . . ." As Father Nerinckx was about the only friend Badin had left among the clergy of Kentucky, at this time, he would seem to have been the adviser. (Rev. Stephen T. Badin, July 14, 1815, to Rev. John Maréchal, Baltimore; *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 13-11).

²³ "The question has often been asked in my hearing: 'Why did Father Badin abandon the mission of Kentucky?' I have no idea that he had any such purpose when, in the early spring of 1819, he entered upon the long journey by land and sea that brought him in time to his native land and the sight of his surviving kindred. His journey had for its nominal objects, first, needed bodily rest and recuperation; and secondly, attention to certain matters connected with his paternal inheritance. That his action was influenced, in some degree, at least, by a consideration that was only suspected at the time, and that by only a few of his associates of the clergy of Kentucky, is now indisputable. He had become ambitious of episcopal distinction; and knowing that Bishop Flaget had appealed to the Holy See for an assistant, he thought to secure the appointment for himself through his personal influence with leading clergymen in France. The fact here stated should not affect unfavourably the fame of the grand old missionary who was privileged to write after his name, *Proto-Sacerdos Statum Foederatorum Americae Septentrionalis*. Ambition is not always, logically and necessarily, an emanation from man's perverted nature. I have reason for believing that Father Badin's ambition was entertained from reasonable and Christian motives, and hence, that it was free from all taint of viciousness. He had made a willing sacrifice of himself and all his faculties for the good of the Catholic people of the diocese. He had been their father, and he looked upon them as his children.

One part of his diocese, the upper portion of the State of Michigan, and the district around Detroit had been the subject of correspondence between himself and Bishop Plessis of Quebec. On January 14, 1796, Bishop Hubert of Quebec had written to Bishop Carroll that "according to the treaty which has been concluded between the United States of America and Great Britain, the missions of Upper Canada are to be restored and will in consequence become a portion of the Baltimore Diocese . . . The city of Detroit and its outskirts form a large enough parish of Catholics to have a resident priest." Bishop Hubert stated that the pastor in charge at the time desired to return to Quebec, and he proposed that Carroll accept the services of Father Edmund Burke, who had been up to the time of the transfer, Vicar-General of Quebec in the old Illinois country. Dr. Carroll replied on March 2, 1796, that he would have preferred the pastor in charge, Father Frechette, to remain; that Burke, who was to become first Vicar-Apostolic of Nova Scotia, was in ill repute with the American soldiers; and that he would arrange to provide the Catholics in that region with a pastor. That same year he sent the Sulpician Father Levadoux to Detroit as his vicar-general, and two years later he entrusted Father Gabriel Richard with the same jurisdiction. On March 6, 1811, Bishop Flaget wrote to Bishop Plessis, Hubert's successor in Quebec, granting him the powers of a Vicar-General in the Diocese of Bardstown, in order to facilitate the border min-

Their faces were all known to him, as were also their dispositions and their necessities. Is it at all wonderful that, under such circumstances, he should have entertained the idea, that he, better than another, would be able to give direction to schemes for their spiritual advancement? I think not. But there was still another motive which, in the absence of those enumerated, would naturally incline the aging priest to sever, for a time at least, his relation with the mission he had founded. Between himself and Bishop Flaget, there had ensued divergence of opinion in respect to the settlement of title to certain properties that had been acquired by him for the Church, before the See of Bardstown was created, and which was still held in his own name. The most valuable of these properties was the 'Howard' place, near Bardstown, upon which stood, at the time, the church of St. Thomas and the diocesan seminary buildings. It is due to the memory of Father Badin to say that he never had a thought of alienating one foot of this property from the uses to which it had been devoted by the generous donors. He was only anxious in regard to the absolute requirements of the laws of the land, as these affected the bequests and the terms upon which they had been made. Furthermore, he insisted upon his right to hold legal title to the property, until provision was made for the liquidation of debts contracted by him in behalf of the Church, and for the benefit of the mission of Kentucky." *Wm. Centenary, etc.*, pp. 441-442.

istry of the two dioceses.²⁴ On February 10, 1811, Bishop Plessis returned this courtesy, and a correspondence was begun between the two prelates which lasted down to Plessis' death (December 4, 1822).²⁵ The more substantial part of the history of the Diocese of Bardstown belongs to the period after Carroll's death. In July, 1816, the cornerstone of St. Joseph's Cathedral, Bardstown, was blessed, and the following year the edifice was opened for divine worship. Father David was appointed coadjutor of the diocese, and was consecrated on August 15, 1817. In 1832, Bishop Flaget resigned, and Bishop David succeeded as second Bishop of Bardstown. In May, 1833, Bishop David resigned, and Bishop Flaget was reappointed, thus becoming third bishop of that see. On July 20, 1834, Guy Ignatius Chabrat was consecrated coadjutor of the diocese; he resigned in 1847, and retired to France, where he died on November 21, 1868. Bishop David passed away on July 12, 1841, and that same year the Holy See transferred the diocese from Bardstown to Louisville. Martin John Spalding, the historian of the Church in Kentucky, was consecrated coadjutor to Bishop Flaget on September 10, 1848, and at the latter's death (February 11, 1850) succeeded to the See.²⁶

Veritably appalled by the immensity of the task which lay before him, Bishop Flaget told his Holiness that one great joy came to him and encouraged him more than he could describe—"the news of the restoration of that remarkable Society of Apostolic men who brought the light of the Gospel in years gone by to so many barbarous nations." And he utters a prayer to the Holy Father that the members of the restored Society of Jesus will cast their eyes in his direction, for, they "are the men," he says, "whom God has ordained for this magnificent work." Bishop Flaget lived to see his prayers answered, for one has but to recall the name of one Jesuit—Father De Smet—to picture the magnificent work the Society of Jesus performed in evangelizing and civilizing the great unexplored West of the United States.

²⁴ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 10-J1, printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, p. 12. *Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec, États-Unis, Misc.*, G., 215.

²⁵ Printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 12-42.

²⁶ Cf. CORRIGAN, *Chronology of the American Hierarchy*, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. II, pp. 284-285.

CHAPTER XXXIV

ARCHBISHOP CARROLL'S EXTRA-DIOCESAN JURISDICTION

When Louisiana was transferred by treaty from France to Spain on November 3, 1762, the King of Spain, by virtue of royal privileges dating back to the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, acquired ecclesiastical power over the largest known territory in what is now the Republic of the United States.¹ As a result of these privileges "in the course of time, things came to such a pass that without the royal assent no ecclesiastical official, not even a sacristan, could be appointed, transferred or dismissed; none might enter or leave the Colonies; diocesan or parochial boundaries might not be set down or altered; and no church, school or convent be erected."² Practically speaking, as one Spanish historian puts it, the King of Spain was the Vicar of the Pope.³ This intimate union of Church and State became the fortune, or the misfortune, of old Louisiana, when after three years of *mañana*, Spain actually took possession of the territory in 1766. No official notice of the change in the political government of Louisiana seems to have been taken by the Holy See at this date; and the Bishop of Quebec retained his jurisdiction over this Spanish province until about the year 1773. Quebec had always shown a lack of wisdom in its jurisdiction over this vast appendage to its power. It is true that the population of the Louisiana Province was never very large. In 1766, the whole French population is given as 1,400 families, or roughly 5,600 souls. The majority of these resided in what is now the State of Louisiana, and the greater portion of them in and around

¹ Cf. PASTOR, *History of the Popes, etc.*, vol. iv, p. 397; vol. v, pp. 338-339; vol. vi, p. 163; PRESCOTT, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. ii, p. 26 (Edition of 1892); LOWERY, *Spanish Settlements in the United States*, vol. ii, p. 671. This subject has been treated in detail by Rev. Edwin Ryan, *Diocesan Organization in the Spanish Colonies*, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. ii, pp. 146-156; vol. iv, pp. 170-185.

² RYAN, *l. c.*, vol. ii, p. 150.

³ SOLOREZANO Y PELAYO, *Política Indiana*, t. ii, book iv.

New Orleans.⁴ John Gilmary Shea quotes Margry in confirmation for his statement that in the time of the unamiable De Saint-Vallier, second Bishop of Quebec (1688-1727), the French Government planned to divide Louisiana into several vicariates, but that the bishop objected to a dismembering of his diocese.⁵ Down to the change of Government in 1763, Quebec ruled this vast province by means of vicars-general. On May 16, 1722, Louisiana was apparently divided into three spiritual jurisdictions. The first, allotted to the Capuchins, with a centre at New Orleans, extended on the west from the mouth of the Mississippi to the Wabash; the second, allotted to the Jesuits, comprised the old Illinois Country, with a centre in Kaskaskia; the third, taking in all the rest of the territory east of the Mississippi, was placed in charge of the Carmelites, with a residence at Mobile. The three superiors of these Orders were made Vicars-General of the Diocese of Quebec.⁶ When the Carmelites returned to France (1722), their territory was added to that of the Capuchins. A little later, the Jesuits were given charge of all the Indians in the province, and their Superior was permitted to live at New Orleans; but they were restricted in the performance of their duties, being obliged to obtain the consent of the Capuchin Superior in many things. All this was hardly more than a paper organization, and was bound to create disorder. On February 26, 1726, the Superior of the Jesuits in the Province of Canada, Father Beaubois, signed an agreement to the effect that the Jesuits should exercise no spiritual functions at New Orleans, except by the consent of the Capuchins. When Bishop De Saint-Vallier appointed Beaubois vicar-general at New Orleans, a quarrel began between the two congregations, which was not settled, even when after the Suppression of the Jesuits in the French Dominion (1763), the members of the Society were expelled from Louisiana.

When the cession of New France to England was made by

⁴ GOSSELIN, *L'Eglise du Canada après la Conquête*, p. 325.

⁵ SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 327; MARGRY, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français, etc.*, vol. iii, p. 579. Paris, 1877. No trace of these documents was found in the Propaganda Archives. A Relation of the "Mission of the Mississippi," under date of 1722 (pp. 321-322) is in the *Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec*.

⁶ *Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec, Transcripts*, pp. 321-322; the documents are in the *Atti of Propaganda* of 1721, f. 86; 1722, ff. 138, 183-184, 410-411.

the Treaty of Paris (1763), Louisiana, as understood by the Treaty, was that vast stretch of country on both sides of the Mississippi extending from New Orleans to the boundaries of Canada. The eastern part of the Territory became American by the treaty of 1783; the western part had been ceded to Charles III of Spain on November 2, 1762. It was this western section which was retroceded to France in 1800, and was purchased by Jefferson in 1803. After the cession to Spain of this western section, the ecclesiastical government of the country was transferred to the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba. The Capuchin, Father Cyril de Barcelona, was sent to New Orleans as his vicar-general, and, in 1781, was consecrated Auxiliary of Santiago with his residence in New Orleans. In 1787, the Diocese of Santiago was divided, and Havana became a separate bishopric with jurisdiction over Spanish Louisiana. Bishop Trespalacios of Porto Rico was transferred to Havana, and Bishop Cyril, who became his auxiliary, began a systematic reform of the diocese, and soon incurred the enmity of many in New Orleans. On November 23, 1793, a royal decree was issued erecting Louisiana into a separate diocese, and bishop Cyril of Barcelona was ordered to return at once to his Capuchin monastery in Catalonia, with a pension of one thousand *pesos* a year. He went to Havana a broken man, the result of his efforts to institute a stricter clerical discipline in Spanish Louisiana. Where he died is unknown. The jurisdiction of Trespalacios, who had schemed the harsh banishment of Bishop Cyril, came to an end with the erection of the Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas, with boundaries touching Baltimore on the east and Linares and Durango on the west. The priest chosen as bishop for the new diocese was Luis Peñalver y Cardenas of Havana, who arrived at New Orleans on July 17, 1795. A long report to the Spanish authorities at Madrid, written before the end of the year, gives us a melancholy sketch of the state of religion in the province.⁷ Peñalver was very much in earnest, as is evidenced by his *Instrucción para el gobierno de los Párrocos*, and by the regulations published for his Visitation of the diocese.⁸ His chief difficulty was in protecting his people

⁷ Shea has printed this report in his *History, etc.*, vol. ii, pp. 572-575.

⁸ Cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 575-578; the *Instrucción* is printed in the *United*

from the "gang of adventurers" who were flocking in to the Province of Louisiana from the neighbouring United States. The Drive on Mexico had begun. And Peñalver was far-sighted in relating to his superiors the custom of the Americans "of patting their sons on the shoulder, when they are very stout, saying: 'You will go to Mexico.' " Peñalver was vigorous in his support of improvements for the province, and attempted to introduce better methods in agriculture and commerce. He encouraged education, extending the scope of the work done by the Ursulines, and lost no opportunity of beautifying the churches in his diocese. There is a letter from his pen in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives, dated April 12, 1799, asking Bishop Carroll if some definite agreement could not be reached in the matter of controlling the clerical adventurers who found Carroll's discipline too strict and were seeking refuge in Louisiana. There was a *va-et-vient* system across the borders of the two dioceses, and discipline suffered accordingly. There is little doubt that Peñalver's systematic reform of the religious life of his people met with much opposition, and, on July 20, 1801, he was promoted, *ut amoveatur*, to the archiepiscopal See of Guatemala.⁹ Before his departure (November 3, 1801), he appointed two of his priests, Irishmen, Rev. Thomas Canon Hassett and Rev. Patrick Walsh, Vicars-General for the interim.¹⁰ Meanwhile, by the Treaty of San Ildefonso (Oct. 1, 1800), Spain was coerced into an agreement with France to retrocede the Province of Louisiana to the French Republic. This transfer had not been made officially when Bonaparte, as First Consul, ceded Louisiana to the Republic of the United States, by the treaty of April 30, 1803, for the sum of fifteen million dollars. On November 30, 1803, Spain finally transferred the province to France; her Government of the province, in spite of the Treaty of 1800, had not been disturbed. And on December 20, the representatives of France handed the province over to the United States at New Orleans. Similar

States Catholic Historical Magazine, vol. i, pp. 417ss. Cf. GAYARRÉ, *History of Louisiana*, p. 376.

⁹ GAMB, *Series Episcoporum*, p. 174. Ratisbon, 1873. A section of the Carroll-Peñalver correspondence is in the *Catholic Archives of America* (Notre Dame University).

¹⁰ SHENK (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 581) says that he was authorized to do so by a rescript from the Holy See dated September 14, 1794.

ceremonies for Upper Louisiana took place at St. Louis, March 9-10, 1804, "and thus expired the last vestige of French power on the mainland of North America, almost exactly two centuries after the first successful settlement in Nova Scotia."¹¹ By a rescript from the Holy See, dated January 29, 1791, Bishop Carroll had been informed that "all the faithful living in communion with the Catholic Church, both ecclesiastics and lay persons, whether they dwell in the provinces of Federated America, or in the neighbouring regions outside of the provinces, so long as they are subject to the Government of the Republic, will be and shall be hereafter under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Baltimore."¹² Consequently, this whole tract of the Mississippi Valley, the very heart of the nation, became automatically a part of Carroll's extra-diocesan jurisdiction. On December 23, 1803, Canon Hassett, presumably the ecclesiastical superior of the province, wrote to Carroll to acquaint him with the official transfer of Louisiana to the American Republic and of the situation of the Church there:

My Lord:

The retrocession of this Province to the French Republic having taken place the 30th ultimo, and the same being since ceded to the U. S. of America, are circumstances that induce me to acquaint your Lordship (without loss of time, and as briefly as possible), of the present Ecclesiastical State of this portion of my Jurisdiction, doubting not but it will very soon fall under your Lordship's.

The ceded Province consists of 21 parishes, including this of New Orleans, of which some are vacant owing to the scarcity of Ministers; the Irish priests enjoy 40 D^s salary per month from the King, and the Spaniard, French, &c 30. besides the obventions arising from the publick acts of their parochial functions, such as funerals, marriages &c, and established by tarif: the functionarys are allowed each, a dwelling house and a few acres of land by their respective flocks: none has a coadjutor excepting the parish priest of N. Orleans, who is allowed four, and enjoys 25 dollars each per month, together with their share of obventions, which are equally divided between the parish priest and them.

Previous to the Retrocession, the Spanish commissioners have explored officially the wills of all those that derive from his C. Majesty, and are employed in his service; the Ecclesiastiks being of the number. I found on examination that out of 26 that have been at yt. time in ye Capital

¹¹ TEWHAITES, *France in America*, pp. 294-295. New York, 1905.

¹² *Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 893, not folioed; printed in the *Records*, vol. xviii, p. 162.

and Province, only four agreed to continue in their respective stations under French Government, and whether many more than the same number will remain under that of the U. S. God only knows; whereas, although the service of Almighty God and the particular spiritual necessity of ye portion of his vineyard, are motives ye most cogent on one hand, to engage all, not only to continue their labours here, but also to redouble their zeal in the execution of their sacred functions, yet yr. Lordship well knows that the *amor Patriae* and the King's bounty (offered to be continued to all those that follow his colours) are alluring and flattering ones on the other. As for my own part, I candidly assure yr. Lordship, that I find myself in a most disagreeable dilemma, obliged to leave the country on account of my weak and declining state of health, and repair to some other climate more suitable to my constitution, notwithstanding the ardent desires I have of being serviceable in my present situation, besides my place of Canon, I cannot warrantably or with any degree of propriety relinquish, and consequently only wait for superior orders to take my departure hence.

The Revd. Mr. Patk Walsh, Vicar-Genl & auxiliary Gov^r of ye diocese, justly entitled (as he really is) to a recompense for his long services and unwearied Zeal in the service of God & his Country, may hourly expect a competent one from our Sovereign; but yet declares when he leaves ye country, he will consider himself as, in a manner, torn from it, for the reasons above mentioned, and assures that he is determined not to abandon his post, as long as he can with propriety hold it, not being in the least influenced by motives of interest or aggrandizement so to be.

I forgot to mention yt ye Cathedral Church possesses some property arising from houses thereunto appertaining—it is a decent temple and decently supplied with Ornaments &c necessary for divine service. The country churches are also on a tolerably good footing. Mr. Walsh desires to be most affectionately remembered to yr Lordship, & says he will write to you by next opportunity.

I have the Honour to be with the highest respect, my Lord, yr Lordship's most obed^t Humble Serv^t

THOMAS HASSETT¹³

Carroll had written to Propaganda on February 14, 1804, announcing the purchase of the old French Territory,¹⁴ and on April 21 of the same year, Propaganda asked him to send the names of three or more priests so that the Holy See might select bishops for the new territory. Meanwhile, Father Patrick

¹³ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 4-D5; printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 272-274. Bishop Carroll's memorandum on the back of this letter states that it was received February 16, 1804, and was answered the following day.

¹⁴ *Propaganda Archives, Letters*, vol. 289, f. 356.

Walsh wrote to Rome a long letter (April 12, 1805) informing the Holy See of the insubordination of one of the Capuchins, Father Anthony Sedella, parish-priest of New Orleans, who had defied Walsh's authority.¹⁵ Father Walsh withdrew the Capuchin's faculties and placed the parish church under a quasi-interdict. A schism ensued, in which Sedella was upheld by Governor Claiborne who "lent the whole influence of his position to break down the discipline of the Catholic Church and maintain in the Cathedral of New Orleans a man whose immoral character and neglect of duty were notorious, and who would in any New England village have been consigned to jail."¹⁶ Father Walsh died in the midst of these troubles (August 22, 1806), and the diocese was left without anyone to regulate it, until Dr. Carroll acted upon Propaganda's letter of September 20, 1805, and assumed jurisdiction.¹⁷ Dr. Carroll was permitted to appoint an administrator to whom all powers, except those requiring episcopal character, were to be granted. He was urged to extinguish as quickly as possible the flames of the schism so that all scandal might be removed from the diocese. The following day, September 21, 1805, Propaganda wrote to Father Walsh, telling him that his powers as vicar-general had ceased and that faculties for the governance of the diocese had been conferred upon Dr. Carroll, to whom he would henceforth be subject. Father Walsh probably received this letter before his death. With the two administrators appointed by Bishop Peñalver

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, *Congregazioni particolari*, vol. 145, ff. 95-96.

¹⁶ SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 590.

¹⁷ Canon Hassett died in April, 1804, and on March 27, 1805, Father Walsh published a Pastoral (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11B-C3) calling upon all to recognize his own spiritual authority. On April 12, 1805, Castillon, president of the trustees of New Orleans, wrote to Carroll stating that they refused to accept Walsh's authority, on the score that it ceased with the transfer of Bishop Peñalver y Cardenas to the See of Guatemala in 1801 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-L8). Castillon wrote again on July 15, 1805, supporting Sedella in his insubordination. The news of Father Walsh's death reached Carroll by a letter from Louis Kerr, dated New Orleans, August 29, 1806 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11B-L6; printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 280-281). "Understanding that you are charged with some superintendence over the ecclesiastical interests of this diocese," Kerr wrote to Carroll, "I take the liberty to add from myself, though you are possibly aware of it, that by the death of my respected friend the Church here is now without any legitimate head; a circumstance which may be attended by some pernicious consequences, in the present situation of our ecclesiastical affairs, respecting which you without doubt have been long since informed." The letter from Propaganda of September 20, 1805, placing Louisiana under Carroll's jurisdiction, was sent by Concanen on September 28. (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-W3).

absent from the scene, the Church in New Orleans was a prey to the intriguing Sedilla, who was known to many in the city as politically opposed to American interests.

In Propaganda's letter to Carroll, it was suggested that the United States Government be approached regarding church discipline in Louisiana; and, accordingly, on November 17, 1806, Dr. Carroll wrote to James Madison, then Secretary of State, repeating in part the letter he had received from Rome:

I was not so satisfied with the accounts of Louisiana, of the clergymen living there, as would justify a recommendation of any of them for the important trust, which requires not only a virtuous but very prudent conduct, great learning, especially in matters of a religious nature, and sufficient resolution to remove gradually the disorders which have grown up during the relaxed state of civil and ecclesiastical authority. I therefore directed my views to two others, who tho' Frenchmen, have been long resident in this country and steady in their attachment to it. But the removal of either of them to Louisiana was rendered impracticable, and circumstances have since occurred which perhaps make it inadvisable in the opinion of this government, to nominate for the bishop of that country any native of France or Louisiana. I therefore declined hitherto taking any concern in this business, tho' the situation of the church there has long required, and requires now more particularly a prompt interference, not only for the interests of religion, but likewise for quieting and composing the minds of the inhabitants. You will observe that my first commission to take a provisional charge of the diocese of N. Orleans was received long before the intermeddling of the Emperor Napoleon. This has been procured, as I am credibly informed from N. O. by a mission to Paris from a Mr. Castillon, who is at the head of the municipality, and an artful Spanish friar, Antonio de Sedilla, the intimate friend of the Marquis of Caso Calvo. This mission was entrusted to a certain Castanedo, who was furnished with \$4,000 to obtain a recommendation from the Emperor Napoleon for the immediate nomination of de Sedilla to the bishopric: but the attempt has completely miscarried, as you will see by the duplicate copy of the commission sent to me, &c. To this commission allow me to subjoin an extract from a letter of Card. Pietro, prefect of the Congreg. de Prop. fide at Rome, which I received at the same time. . . . From which it appears, that the acquiescence of our government is necessary with respect to the measures to be adopted for settling the ecclesiastical state of Louisiana. Something, as has been mentioned, is immediately necessary, before I proceed to determine on the choice of a subject fit to be recommended for the future bishop. If a native of this country, or one who is not a Frenchman, tho' well acquainted with the language, cannot be procured, would it be satisfactory to the Executive of the U. S. to recommend a native of France who has

long resided amongst us, and is desirous of continuing under this government? In the mean time, as the only clergyman in Louisiana, in any degree qualified to act with vigor and intelligence in restoring order in the Cath. church, is a French emigrant priest, far from any attachment to the present system of his country. May he be appointed to act as my vicar, without the disapprobation of our Executive? I have many reasons for believing that this person rejoices sincerely in the cession of that country to the United States.¹⁸

Madison replied, on November 20, to the effect that the American Government would welcome an end to the religious strife which was distracting the city of New Orleans. Sedella was regarded as an artful conspirator, and the appointment of an exemplary priest as head of ecclesiastical affairs would be highly satisfactory:

Right Reverend Sir,

I have had the honour to receive and lay before the President your letter of the 17th inst, enclosing a duplicate of the commission which places under your care the Roman Catholic Church in New Orleans and requesting the sentiments of the Executive on certain discretionary points affecting the selection of the functionaries to be named by you.

The delicacy towards the public authority and the laudable object which led to the enquiry you are pleased to make, are appreciated by the President, in the manner which they so justly merit. But as the case is entirely ecclesiastical it is deemed most congenial with the scrupulous policy of the Constitution in guarding against a political interference with religious affairs, to decline the explanations which you have thought might enable you to accommodate the better, the execution of your trust, to the public advantage. I have the pleasure, Sir, to add, that if that consideration had less influence, the President would find a motive to the same determination, in his perfect confidence in the purity of your views, and in the patriotism which will guide you, in the selection of ecclesiastical individuals, to such as combine with their professional merits, a due attachment to the independence, the Constitution and the prosperity of the United States.

I enclose the document which you requested might be returned, and pray you to accept assurances of the perfect respect and esteem with which,

I remain,

Your most obed^t Serv^t

JAMES MADISON.¹⁹

¹⁸ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 4-E7; cf. *SHEA, op. cit.*, pp. 591-592.

¹⁹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 5-E7; printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 62-63. On March 3, 1807, Carroll wrote to his nephew, Daniel Brent, who was then in the State Department: "He [Mr. Madison] may be assured that if any

With this letter came a private answer from Madison, treating the matter more in detail:

You will find by the enclosed letter that an official answer to the enquiries in yours of the 17th has not been given. The reason for declining it does not however forbid my saying in a private letter that nothing being known concerning Mr. L'Espinasse except from your account of him in which all due confidence is placed, no objection can lie against the use you propose to make of him: and that in general it affords satisfaction to find you, as might well be presumed, so fully in a disposition to admit into the stations for which you are to provide as little of alienage of any sort as will consist with the essential attention and duties of them. Of the Spanish Friar Antonio di Sedella the accounts received here agree with the character you have formed of him. It appears that his intrigues & his connections have drawn on him the watchful attention of the Government of that Territory.

Altho' I am aware that in the arrangements committed to your discretion & execution, considerations operate very different from those of a political nature, I will not conceal my wish that instead of a temporary subordination of the R. C. Church at N. Orleans to the General Diocese, the subordination had been made permanent, or rather that it had involved a modification of some proper sort leaving less of a distinctive feature in that quarter already marked by sundry peculiarities. I am betrayed into this expression, or rather intrusion of such a sentiment by my anxiety to see the union and harmony of every portion of our country strengthened by every legitimate circumstance which may in any wise have that tendency.

The letter from Mr. Portales had been forwarded hither in several copies from N. O. where it has excited the sensations likely to result from it. This foreign interposition, qualified as it is, was manifestly reprehensible, being in a case where it could be founded neither in any political nor ecclesiastical relation whatever. It is probable, at the same time, that the step was produced less by any deep or insidious designs, than by the flattering unjust importunities of the parties at N. O. & by a tenderness towards a people once a part of the French nation, and alienated by the policy of its Gov't not by their own act. The interposition will be made by our Minister a topic of such observations, as without overcharging the wrong, may be calculated to prevent repetitions.²⁰

Dr. Carroll appointed as his vicar-general, Father John Olivier, the brother of the venerable missionary at Post Vin-

clergyman acting there under my authority should ever betray dispositions or countenance measures unfriendly to the Sovereignty of the United States; or, if ever he should hold correspondence of a suspicious nature with a foreign nation, he shall be deprived of any commission from me and of the care of souls." (*Catholic Archives of America*, Notre Dame University.)

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Case 5-E8.

cennes, Father Donatien Olivier. On April 5, 1808, Propaganda sent a further Brief to Dr. Carroll defining his powers over Louisiana and ordered him to appoint Father Charles Nerinckx, "on whose zeal and virtue we greatly rely in Our Lord," or, if the latter feel unequal to the task, some other worthy priest as administrator-apostolic of that diocese. Father Nerinckx refused the task, as did several others to whom Archbishop Carroll offered the burdensome post. In the Baltimore Cathedral Archives, there is a letter, remarkable because of its four signatures (Badin and the three Dominicans, Wilson, Angier and Tuite), dated September 1, 1809, approving Father Nerinckx's stand against accepting the Louisiana charge.²¹ On December 17, 1810, Archbishop Carroll informed Pius VII that he had found grave difficulty in persuading any of his priests to go to New Orleans, but that he deemed Father William Du Bourg as well fitted for the task. The negotiations with the Holy See lingered for two more years, until finally Du Bourg accepted the post and was appointed Administrator-Apostolic of the Diocese of Louisiana and the two Floridas. He left Baltimore on October 18, 1812, for his distant charge.²²

Louis-Guillaume-Valentin Du Bourg was born at Cap François, San Domingo, in February, 1766. He entered the Sulpician Order after the completion of his theological studies at Paris, where he was ordained in 1788. He was Superior of the Issy section of the Preparatory Seminary founded by Father Nagot, when the French Revolution broke out; in 1794, he emigrated to America and offered his services to Bishop Carroll. As President of Georgetown College (1796-1799), and as the founder of St. Mary's College, Baltimore (1800), Du Bourg's place in the history of American Catholic education is secure. It was he who turned Mother Seton's thoughts towards the education of Catholic girls (1806), and it was largely through his influence that the Society for the Propagation of the Faith

²¹ Case 1-J4. The part the Dominicans took in assisting Nerinckx to remain in Kentucky had the good effect of assisting both sides towards a better understanding. Cf. O'DANIEL, *Fenwick*, p. 160. The rescript of Propaganda (April 5, 1808) will be found in SHERA, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 596-597; MARR, *Nerinckx*, p. 293; HOWLETT, *Nerinckx*, p. 191.

²² Cf. SOUVAY, *A Centennial of the Church in St. Louis*, in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. IV, p. 53. The letter of appointment will be found *ibid.*, p. 56.

(organized at Lyons, France, in 1822), supported the educational institutions of the United States. For three years Father Du Bourg remained in Louisiana striving to bring order into the Church there. In Lower Louisiana at the time there were more than 50,000 Catholics, but the parishes were few, and there were not enough priests to take charge of them.

In contemporary reports on Louisiana to Propaganda we read :

Many Catholics die without the sacraments, many children are unbaptized; others scarcely see a priest once in a lifetime; marriages are contracted without a blessing; Christian doctrine is not taught, and such a decay of Catholic life is to be observed, that within a few years the Catholic faith will be entirely obliterated . . . There is rife in the city of New Orleans a spirit of unbelief, or rather of godlessness which is gradually corrupting the whole mass. This plague is to be attributed to the coming of a great number of free-masons and hucksters of every description, to the spread of French maxims, to infrequent preaching of the Gospel, to love of lucre and pleasure, so much intensified by the climate and the number of female slaves; above all to the scandals given by the clergy.²²

To make things much worse at the time, at the very gates of the city stood an English army ready for attack.

After the victory under General Jackson at New Orleans, on January 8, 1815, Father Du Bourg decided to go to Rome to lay his problems before the officials of Propaganda. The long detention of Pope Pius VII by Napoleon, at Savona and Fontainebleau, had disorganized the ordinary relations between the head of the Church and the American dioceses, as we have seen in the long delays caused in the succession to the Sees of New York and Philadelphia; and correspondence was so often interrupted or destroyed, that Du Bourg thought it best to go to Rome personally for the affairs of his vast administratorship. Sedella still remained in New Orleans, and though quiescent during Du Bourg's residence in Louisiana, the wily Capuchin saw in the appointment of Father Louis Sibourd as vicar-general in the absence of the administrator, another opportunity for causing disorder. Du Bourg realized that once he had departed,

²² *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 335; all the important documents on the Sedella Schism are printed *in extenso* by SOUVAY, *ut supra*, pp. 53-75.

Sedella would renew the old schism; but he determined to face that difficulty, and on May 4, 1815, he set out for Europe. When he arrived in France (July, 1815), the country was in an uproar, consequent upon Waterloo and the abdication of Napoleon. From Bordeaux, on July 12, he sent Cardinal Litta, Prefect of Propaganda, a preliminary report on the Church in Louisiana. Of Sedella he says: "This man, impatient of control and quite expert in the art of tickling the popular fancy, who for thirty years and more has lorded it in the Cathedral and holds and twists at will in his hand the minds of nearly all the inhabitants of a large city, this man, I say, challenging my power to delegate my authority, is, now that the first schism kindled by him has been quenched, threatening, to start another. Unless treatment is promptly applied to this frightful calamity, the evil, I fear, will soon be past remedy."²⁴ Propaganda now had all the documents on the Louisiana Church in its possession for decision, as can be seen from the *Acta* of September 14, 1815. When Du Bourg reached Rome, he was consecrated Bishop of Louisiana (September 24, 1815).²⁵ Archbishop Carroll died before the news of Du Bourg's elevation to the episcopate reached Baltimore. With this appointment, the Diocese of Baltimore was relieved of further anxiety over church affairs in old Louisiana. Bishop Du Bourg proposed to the Holy See, while he was in Rome, the division of his diocese into two parts—Upper Louisiana, with its see at St. Louis, and Lower Louisiana, with a see at New Orleans. For the Diocese of Upper Louisiana, he advised that Bishop Flaget be transferred from Bardstown, and that Prince Gallitzin be consecrated Bishop of the Kentucky see. Propaganda wrote to Archbishop Carroll and to Bishop Flaget, on December 23, 1815, asking their advice and consent

²⁴ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. iv, *Notizie de Luigiana*.

²⁵ He had been already appointed for the first time in 1812, shortly after being made Administrator, and had accepted the appointment. His Bulls, however, were delayed. Father Maréchal, then in France, wrote that he expected to be the bearer of them; but he returned to Baltimore without them. Pope Pius VII, lingering in prison and worn out by the intrigues and harassing vexations of his imperial gaoler, firmly declined to issue any more Bulls. SPALDING, *Flaget*, pp. 163-164. A note informs us that all these particulars are gathered from a letter of Du Bourg to Bishop Flaget, dated Baltimore, August 11, 1812. SOUVAY, *ut supra*, p. 61, note 11; *Propaganda Archives, Atti* (1814), f. 153.



BISHOP DU BOURG

to this plan.²⁶ Archbishop Carroll had passed away, before this letter was written; Flaget, who had probably suggested the plan to Du Bourg, subsequently changed his mind, and the latter remained as bishop of that immense territory from the Gulf of Mexico to the Canadian border.²⁷

Sedella, the *inimicus homo* of the diocese had not been idle, and when the news of his machinations reached Bishop Du Bourg at Bordeaux, that prelate—like a general who wishes to conquer a country, and does not therefore stop to besiege fortified cities—decided to fix upon St. Louis as his episcopal city.²⁸ He felt free to do this, since he had been consecrated Bishop of Louisiana. Cardinal Dugnani, Pro-Prefect of Propaganda, approved this design. Correspondence with Rome was slow in those days and Bishop Du Bourg, while waiting for an answer to other matters submitted to Propaganda, spent his time going about France, preaching and collecting for his new diocese. He sailed for America on July 1, 1817, accompanied by twenty-nine recruits for the Louisiana Mission: five priests, four subdeacons, nine clerics, three Christian Brothers, four ecclesiastical students and four workmen. This party arrived at Annapolis, Md., in September, 1817, and then started westward (November 4) to St. Louis, where Bishop Du Bourg arrived on January 5, 1818, after a journey of nearly six thousand miles. The subsequent history of this remarkable prelate's career belongs to the period after Carroll's death.²⁹

The most remarkable page in the history of Louisiana, though

²⁶ *Propaganda Archives, Letters*, vol. 296, f. 248.

²⁷ SPALDING, *Flaget*, pp. 166-169.

²⁸ Du Bourg to Father De Andreis, Lyons, France, April 24, 1816. Cf. SOUVAY, *ut supra*, p. 62.

²⁹ Souvay has given a well-documented history of this complex page in American Catholic annals in his article on the *Centennial of the Church in St. Louis* (*ut supra*), and in *Rosati's Election to the Coadjutorship of New Orleans* (*Catholic Historical Review*, vol. iii, pp. 3-21, 165-186). On July 18, 1826, Pope Leo XII divided the Diocese of Louisiana, erecting the Dioceses of New Orleans and of St. Louis, and the Vicariate of Mississippi. Bishop Du Bourg resigned, and New Orleans was placed under the jurisdiction of his coadjutor, Bishop Rosati, C.M., who had been consecrated in 1824, and who was appointed Bishop of St. Louis, March 20, 1827. Bishop Du Bourg was transferred to the Diocese of Montauban in France (August 13, 1826), and later (1833) became Archbishop of Besançon. Bishop Leo de Neckere, C.M., became the first resident Bishop of New Orleans (1829) and as Administrator-Apostolic of New Orleans (1826-30), Bishop Rosati ruled the Vicariate of Mississippi. The Diocese of Natchez was established (1837), when Bishop John Chanche assumed jurisdiction.

belonging to this later period, is the coming of the Vincentian Fathers or the Congregation of the Mission to St. Louis in 1817. Few events of the years under review in this life of America's first Catholic bishop would have given Dr. Carroll more reason for rejoicing than the scenes at Baltimore and Annapolis, when the several groups of Apostles for the Middle West arrived, their journey but half completed. Father Felix Andreis, the founder of the Vincentian Order in the United States, was a man after Carroll's heart. But Carroll's relations with this far-off part of his jurisdiction were not of so important a nature as to demand a more detailed treatment. The same may be said to a certain extent regarding his extra-diocesan jurisdiction over the West Indies.

The West Indies, the first islands to be discovered in the New World, enter the pages of English Catholic history as early as 1605, when Father Robert Persons in a celebrated decision of March 18, of that year, gives his judgment against the Winslade project of founding a refuge there for the persecuted English Catholics. The restrictions placed upon all who wished to set out for the New World were sufficiently irksome, and the great Jesuit leader threw the weight of his influence against the "goinge thither of a whole nation," and it was only when Maryland was founded in 1634, that the first available refuge for the proscribed Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland was begun. The nearness of the Spanish West Indies had been brought up as an objection to the plantation of Maryland; the fear being that the Catholics of Maryland might combine with the Catholics of the West Indies, to the detriment of the Protestants of Virginia and New England. The objectors were reassured that distance would save these Protestant colonies "from their blood-thirsty Catholic brethren."⁸⁰ With the growth of English colonization in the West Indies and the transportation of offenders, criminal and political, to certain of the islands, the necessity arose of caring for the spiritual welfare of the Catholics in those places under British control. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the London Vicariate from 1685 onwards was understood, though erroneously, to include all the English colonies in the New World,

⁸⁰ Cf. RUSSELL, *op cit.*, pp. 66-69.

and the condition of the Church in the West Indies forms, as has been seen, a paragraph in Dr. Challoner's *Report to Propaganda* (1756).²¹

The clergy supply was a haphazard one all through the eighteenth century, and we know practically nothing of the priests who laboured in the Islands nor how they were sent or governed. Whether there were any relations between the Maryland Jesuits and the Islands is equally uncertain. At the time of the persecution of the Jesuits in Maryland (1645-46), a plan was afoot among the Fathers to ask the King of Spain for a refuge there for themselves and the Catholics, since they all feared expulsion from Maryland; but the General refused to give his consent to the plan (November 10, 1646).²² Numerous changes of political overlordship in the Islands occurred during the eighteenth century, the chief of these being that effected by the Treaty of Paris (1763). Even at that date, however, Dr. Challoner was obliged to confess that he was "entirely ignorant of the present state of the Catholic religion in them, or what the ecclesiastical government is."²³ In 1771, Dr. Challoner proposed to Propaganda that a French Franciscan, Father Benjamin Duhamel, be appointed Vicar-Apostolic for the West Indies; but the Sacred Congregation replied that Duhamel's powers as Vicar-General of the London Vicariate were sufficient for the former French islands and that one of the Irish Dominicans in Monserrat should be given equal powers for the English-speaking Catholics. Dr. Challoner was told also that an application to the Holy See should be made for both vicars-general to be given power to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation.²⁴ A secular priest, Father Christopher McEvoy had been appointed about this time Prefect-Apostolic for the Danish West Indies, and later in March, 1776, Father McEvoy's jurisdiction was extended to the Barbadoes, St. Kitt's and other adjacent islands. The condition of the Church in the West Indies was not a very encouraging one; and with the outbreak of the French Revolution, especially in the larger islands like Santo Domingo, plantations were burned and

²¹ Cf. BURTON, *Challoner*, vol. ii, p. 162.

²² Cf. HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part i, p. 33; Text, vol. i, pp. 563-564.

²³ Cf. BURTON, *op. cit.* vol. ii, p. 134.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

white colonists put to death, in some cases with horrible tortures. A general exodus of white families occurred and several of the larger cities, Savannah, Charleston, S. C., Baltimore, and Philadelphia, became places of refuge for these exiles, most of whom were Catholics.

It is not certain when the doleful condition of the Church in the West Indies was made known to the authorities at Rome, though from a letter sent by Propaganda to Dr. Carroll, under date of March 10, 1804, it would seem that Robert Tuite's letters regarding the state of the Faith in the Danish Islands had aroused the Sacred Congregation to the necessity of bringing order into the Church there. Accordingly, on this day, Propaganda wrote to Dr. Carroll, enclosing a copy of Tuite's letter, and informing him that juridic powers over the Danish Islands, St. Eustace, the Barbadoes, St. Kitt's, Antigua, and all other islands not under the rule of a bishop, or a vicar-apostolic, or a prefect-apostolic, were thereby vested in him.⁸⁵ Dr. Carroll was to appoint a priest as administrator in his name, and to the administrator, the Holy See conceded the privilege of conferring the Sacrament of Confirmation. The jurisdiction over these West Indian Islands was confirmed by letter of March 24, 1804, and instead of one administrator, the Holy See gave Dr. Carroll the power to select two; since, as Dr. Concanen had explained, the distances were so great that one would be insufficient for the task involved. One of these prefects or administrators should be assigned to the Danish Islands, another to all the other islands. Bishop Carroll accepted this added responsibility and appointed Father Henry Kendall, Prefect of the Danish Islands. Carroll made an effort to ascertain the state of religion in the other islands, but whether he actually appointed any one to the prefectship over them is not known. At any rate, he seems to have sent no word to Rome about the West Indies, since, on March 11, 1815, Propaganda wrote to the effect that, owing to the lack of information it possessed, the Sacred Congregation was ignorant of the condition of the Church in the Islands. "I ask Your Lordship, therefore,

⁸⁵ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 4-J10, Case 10-K2-6, Case 11A-V1. Shea gives the date of this appointment as 1811 (cf. *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 651); but we were unable to find any documents of this date either in *Propaganda* or in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*.

to inform me as soon as possible in regard to a matter of such great moment as this, and at the same time you are requested to make a survey of the condition of things in Santo Domingo and in the other islands committed to your care."²⁶ By the time this letter reached Archbishop Carroll, he was not able to attend to so laborious a task, and the jurisdiction granted to him as metropolitan seems to have fallen into disuse after his death.

²⁶ *Propaganda Archives, Letters*, vol. 296, f. 47.

CHAPTER XXXV
THE CHURCH IN THE DIOCESE OF BALTIMORE
(1808-1815)

The history of Carroll's jurisdiction over the Diocese of Baltimore falls into two distinct periods: the first begins with Bishop Carroll's return to Baltimore on December 7, 1790, and ends with the consecration of the three suffragan bishops—Flaget, Cheverus, and Egan—in November, 1810; the second begins with the creation of the American hierarchy at this latter date and ends with Carroll's death on December 3, 1815. The change that came with the suffragan sees was not a definite one, even geographically. There was left, of the original Diocese of Baltimore, the States of Maryland, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia. The territory south of Tennessee and west of Georgia also remained part of the Baltimore See, although Carroll had recommended to Propaganda (December, 1806) that it be annexed to the Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas. When Louisiana became United States territory in 1803, this vast acquisition was placed under the administration of John Carroll, and in 1805, as we have seen in the last chapter, his jurisdiction was extended by Rome to certain islands of the West Indies. Besides, the Diocese of New York in the interim between Concanen's death and the consecration of Connolly, remained under his rule. The division which came, therefore, in 1808-1810, was not of a nature to lighten considerably Carroll's burden as Chief Shepherd of the flock in the United States. Little was done in the Dioceses of Boston, Philadelphia and Bardstown from 1810 to 1815, without his being called upon for advice and direction. To all practical purposes, the *sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum* of the United States rested upon Carroll's shoulders during the twenty-five years of his episcopate (1790-1815).

The first authentic history of the condition of religious life in the Diocese of Baltimore is contained in Carroll's *Relation* to

Propaganda, dated April 23, 1792.¹ There is hardly any paragraph of this long letter which has not been used already in these pages in describing the origin and growth of Catholic life within the Republic. A summary of this valuable document is, however, necessary at the beginning of this chapter. Carroll relates the arrival of the Sulpicians in July, 1791, and the foundation of St. Mary's Seminary; he thanks Propaganda for its generosity in the establishment of Georgetown College; he deplors the lack of priests for his vast diocese, and mentions in particular the neglected condition of the old French congregations of the Illinois County in Vincennes, Kaskaskia, etc. French priests were being handicapped by their want of facility in the English language. The Scioto Colony had been badly shattered by dissensions which arose among the colonists, many of whom held religion and piety in scorn. He had visited Boston shortly after his return from Europe and administered Confirmation there. He was obliged to dismiss the priest who was stationed there and he hopes that Thayer, as an American, will be more acceptable to the people of that region. The schism in Philadelphia was caused by two priests who were disregarding his authority, and who were men of low morals, and organizers of anti-episcopal factions. The disorders in Philadelphia are matched by the insubordination of a Franciscan in Baltimore (Reuter) who was continuing to celebrate Mass even though suspended *a divinis*. The "newcomers" in general are a source of grave concern to him, and he had set his hopes on Georgetown College and on St. Mary's Seminary for the creation of a native American clergy, through whom alone he sees the possibility of ruling the Church peacefully and efficiently. For that reason he is awaiting the return of the two Americans who were then nearing the priesthood in the Collegio Urbano. The Carmelite nuns have by this time been fairly well established in their life of prayer and contemplation, and their devotion has already made a deep impression on the non-Catholics of the locality where they lived (Port Tobacco). They would be, however, of far greater utility to the Diocese, if they were to establish an academy for young girls.

The Synod of 1791 is then described. The legislation enacted by the twenty-two priests who were present embraced the better

¹ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture originali*, vol. 893, not folioed.

government of the diocese, clerical discipline, liturgical uniformity, and the support of the clergy. Carroll took advantage of the presence of his priests to emphasize the immediate need of a coadjutor or a division of the Diocese of Baltimore. His reasons for this are set forth clearly, and if the Holy See agreed, then either Philadelphia or New York was to be the choice of the second see. The Susquehanna River was to form the dividing line of the two dioceses. His own choice would be Philadelphia, since it was the larger city, was already well furnished with priests and churches, and possessed a clergy-house large enough for the episcopal residence. Carroll then recalled the fact that the Missal and the Breviary being used by his clergy were those in use in England, containing the supplements for England. He asked that these might be abandoned from the Roman Missal and Breviary, and that certain privileges regarding feasts be accorded the American clergy. The "Proper" for England had always been used in the English Colonies, but it seemed best to abandon it for the reason that the American Church was definitely separated from London. Besides, the Irish clergy in the United States refused to celebrate the English saints. He requested the episcopal privilege of conceding certain indulgences: Plenary, from Christmas to Epiphany, the first and second Sundays of Lent, from Pentecost to the octave of Corpus Christi, the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, from the Sunday preceding the Assumption to the end of the octave, and the same for the feast of St. Michael, and for All Saints'. He recalled to Propaganda that at the Synod of 1791, he had placed the Church in America under the protection of the Blessed Mother of God, as the principal patroness of the diocese. He had been consecrated on the feast of the Assumption, and at the express wish of the clergy he had set aside the Sunday within the octave of the Assumption as the principal feast for the people of the diocese. He asked the Holy See, therefore, to add to the indulgences already granted for that feast, special privileges which would add to the fervour and devotion of the flock. The disadvantage under which lay certain congregations that saw a priest but once every month or every two months is mentioned, and special privileges are asked so that they may not be deprived of the benefit of these indulgences.

Before concluding his *Relation*, he felt it necessary to return to the question of creating a second see in the United States or of naming a coadjutor for the diocese. Again, he asks for the same concession which was granted on his own election, namely, freedom of choice on the part of the priests of the diocese. Until a regular procedure be established, he suggested that the priests name ten electors, the ten oldest priests in the diocese, and that he name five more, who would be chosen for their prudence and worthiness. This electoral body of fifteen would then proceed to choose a coadjutor. By this time (April, 1792) John Carroll knew the conditions prevailing in his diocese well enough to realize that at the very outset a decided stand should be taken in order to preclude individual interference in the independence of his episcopal jurisdiction. The French intrigue, the Scioto affair, and the Oneida scheme had been sufficiently dangerous to the autonomy of the American Church to arouse the American priesthood to a sense of danger from alien intrusion. Carroll naturally added the clause that the Holy See would reserve to itself the right to reject the election decided upon by the American priests, and that the clergy here would proceed to a second election in case of such a rejection.

On August 13, 1792, this *Relation* was read before a general congregation of the cardinals of Propaganda Fide, and the *Atti* of that date show how thoroughly each paragraph of Carroll's *Relation* was studied.² The Report drawn up by Antonelli consisted of nine chapters: Chapter I—The Seminary at Baltimore; Chapter II—Georgetown College; Chapter III—The Carmelite Nuns; Chapter IV—The Missions; Chapter V—The German Priests; Chapter VI—The Scioto Colony and Dom Didier; Chapter VII—The National Synod of 1791; Chapter VIII—The "Postulati" of Carroll, namely, a coadjutor, the change in the Missal and Breviary, dispensations, indulgences; the national Catholic feast of the Assumption, and the special privilege of the Sulpicians to retain their own Divine Office; Chapter IX—The "Dubbi," namely, the continuance of the subsidy to Georgetown, the education of girls by the Carmelite nuns, the insubordinate German priests, the proposed Diocese of Philadelphia, etc.,

² *Ibid.*, *Atti* (1792), no. 13, f. 142.

etc. At the end of these "Dubbi" comes a list of resolutions passed in the general congregation, chief of which is the decision of Propaganda to allow the American clergy to elect a coadjutor for the Diocese of Baltimore, the creation of a second See being deferred. Then follow a short history of Catholicism in the United States, based upon the archives of Propaganda Fide, and a valuable series of historical notes on the American Church by the Archivist of the Sacred Congregation.

This long document was sent to Bishop Carroll on September 29, 1792, accompanied by a letter of congratulation from Antonelli.⁸ Carroll's diocesan organization met with the warmest praise from the cardinals present, and the Holy See was very much encouraged by the establishment of Georgetown College and St. Mary's Seminary—"Num non erat mirifice laudanda sedulitas illa ac diligentia tua, quam tam egregie, tam naviter, ac tam ingenti studio, ac praeclara voluntate christianam rem administras, ac regis in amplissimis istis foederatae Americae regionibus? Imo vero nunquam satis te extollere laudibus arbitrati sunt Eminentissimi Patres. . . ." Propaganda regretted to announce the death of Carroll's friend, Father Thorpe. Carroll is commended for his staunch stand against the insubordinate priests of Philadelphia and Baltimore. Regarding the request for a division of the diocese, the Holy See was prepared to grant any wish Carroll might make, but the opinion in Rome was against the division, for the reason that the organized Church in the United States should remain during its infancy under one head. Propaganda, therefore, was in favour of granting a coadjutor for the Diocese of Baltimore, and gave permission to the American priests for a second time to elect the priest they believed to be worthy of the dignity of the episcopate. All the other "postulata" were granted, and a final word is added about Smith and Dougherty, the two young Americans in the College Urbano. Carroll is told also that Propaganda feared that Thayer would prove to be a difficult subject to rule.

We have already seen how the American clergy first made a selection of Father Laurence Graessl, who died before his consecration, and how in his place Father Leonard Neale was chosen

⁸ *Ibid.*, *Lettere*, vol. 262, f. 558.

and was consecrated in 1800, as Coadjutor-Bishop of Baltimore. Very little correspondence appears to have passed between Baltimore and Rome for the next few years. The conditions in Europe were adverse to the safe-conduct of letters. The first documents we meet are those concerning Bishop-elect Graessl's appointment. Propaganda, unaware that Graessl had passed away during the yellow fever epidemic (October, 1793), wrote to him on January 18, 1794, congratulating him on his election.⁴ The Holy See had decided, the letter runs, to postpone the division of the Diocese of Baltimore, because it was felt in Rome that one or two suffragan Sees would be insufficient for the complete organization of the American hierarchy. On this same day, Propaganda despatched two letters to Carroll: the first announces Graessl's election, and the fact that the cardinals of the Sacred Congregation insisted on the freedom which the Holy See would exercise at any time it was deemed advisable to divide the Diocese of Baltimore; the second letter is apparently in reply to a *Relation* sent by Carroll in June, 1793, and contains sundry details of administration, among which is the instruction that Carroll establish a cathedral chapter to be made up, however, only of honorary members, without any jurisdiction in diocesan affairs. Carroll is likewise to appoint a vicar-general, according to the decree *Ex sublimi* of Benedict XIV (January 26, 1753), who would become administrator in case the see fell vacant.⁵

Again, a silence of several years. This time it is broken by the charges made at Rome against Carroll by the insurgent German priest, Reuter, the founder of St. John's German Church in Baltimore. During the time that Goetz and Elling were carrying part of their German flock in Philadelphia into schism, Father Cáesar Reuter, who was stationed at St. Peter's, Bishop Carroll's residence, for the purpose of ministering to the German Catholics of the city, organized a similar plot in Baltimore. Much correspondence regarding these unfortunate priests is in the Archives of Propaganda. The difficulties they caused during Carroll's episcopate are, so far as the documents are concerned, out of all proportion with the more encouraging aspects of Catholic progress during these same years. Reuter was one of that class of

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Lettere*, vol. 266, f. 366.

⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 367.

intruders who came with the ambition to rule independently of all legitimate authority. He had been accepted (1797) by Bishop Carroll for the purpose of ministering to the German Catholics of the city of Baltimore, and he soon urged his compatriots to erect a separate church. This was attempted against Carroll's wishes, and within a year it was evident that the congregation could not support a pastor. Reuter then returned to Germany, and, making his way to Rome, lodged complaints against Carroll similar to those of the Philadelphia recalcitrants. On April 23, 1798, the Secretary of Propaganda informed Carroll of these charges, and of Reuter's demand that the Germans of the United States be given a German bishop for themselves. Among these charges were the alleged fact that Carroll would not permit German children to be instructed in their own tongue, would not allow the use of a German catechism, and threatened to excommunicate any priest who preached in German. While Propaganda admitted that if these charges were true, Carroll must have had sufficient reasons; nevertheless, stress is placed on the last of them, and the bishop was warned that the punishment of excommunication was too severe. Reuter had prepared a catechism in German which he presented to Propaganda for inspection; but the officials in Rome advised him that it would have been better had he translated into German Cardinal Bellarmine's excellent catechism, since the multiplication of such books had often caused difficulties in the Church—"cum tanta hujus generis librorum, ut experientia docuit copia detrimento potius fuerit quam utilitati." Cardinal Gerdil, the letter continues, had once said that it was far easier to write a *Cursus universae theologiae* than a small catechism. The Holy See had relieved Reuter of the censure Carroll had placed upon him, but on condition that he did not return to America. Meanwhile the Germans had completed the Church of St. John, and in 1799, Reuter returned; and despite his suspension by Carroll, the unfortunate priest took possession of the church and carried the little congregation into schism. On April 19, 1799, Reuter wrote to Propaganda from Baltimore, accusing Carroll of endeavouring to Americanize the Germans, and Propaganda replied (from Venice) to Reuter, on December 21, 1799, upholding the authority of Bishop Carroll and rebuking Reuter for his bold and irreverent letter. In stating that Carroll

had forbidden the Germans to be instructed in their own tongue, Propaganda answered that Reuter was lying—"in twelve churches, at least, of the diocese, even in the one the Bishop (Carroll) uses at present as a cathedral, sermons are delivered in German, and you, yourself, before you came to Rome, often preached in that cathedral in German to the people of that language." Propaganda saw no necessity for erecting a separate church for the Germans in Baltimore; and as regarded Reuter's request for a German Bishop, there was no answer except an absolute refusal. The Sacred Congregation was amazed at such a request—"Illud vero absonum prorsus, atque omnino iniquum est, quod a te petitur. . . . Cui unquam hoc in mentem venire potuit? . . . Ergone in omni diocesi quot nationes sunt, tot episcopi erunt? Sed supervacaneum est in re tam absurda tamque ecclesiasticae disciplinae adversa vel minimum immorari." Moreover, the Sacred Congregation saw no need of Reuter's catechism, and the letter concludes with a severe rebuke on Reuter's unseemly language regarding Dr. Carroll.* Bishop Carroll had experienced the sad efforts of men of Reuter's type of mind in the Philadelphia Schism, and he wrote on February 9, and August 24, 1799, informing Propaganda that Reuter finally had accomplished a schism in the episcopal city. On December 14, 1799, Propaganda replied (from Venice) urging Carroll to stand firmly for episcopal authority—"ut nullum unquam vulnus ordinariae potestati fiat, nullisque illius exercitium vinculis coarctetur."[†] In his letter of February 9, 1799, Carroll explained the animus behind the movement of Reuter and his associates, and it does not make pleasant reading to-day. It would be too tedious to repeat the whole history of this schismatic movement, in which Philadelphia and Baltimore had joined hands against Carroll, but the closing sentence of Carroll's letter is indicative of its contents: "Non ignoro alia scripta fuisse adversum me, sive a sacerdote Gulielmo Elling, qui unus est eorum contra quos lata est excommunicationis sententia, quique nihilominus pro pastore se gerit schismaticae Philadelphiae SSmae. Trintatis ecclesiae, sive ab alio cui nomen Franciscus Rogatus Fromm ex quodam regularium Ordine sacerdos. Longum foret hujus viri historiam texere, aut

* *Ibid.*, *Letters*, vol. 277, f. 410.

[†] *Ibid.*, f. 217.

crimina et infidelitatem narrare, quam vehementer coelibatum ecclesiasticum condemnet, ac quoties matrimonium sollicitaverit. Si talibus obnoxius non essem, neque illorum calumniis impetitus magis quam unquam episcopali characterе indignus essem.”^a Carroll’s letter of August 20, 1799, is one of the most emphatic in his correspondence with Rome. Reuter had appeared in Baltimore with letters from the Holy See authorizing the building of the German church which was to be independent of his episcopal jurisdiction. Carroll was certain, he wrote, that the Holy See would never exercise its influence to diminish the authority of a diocesan bishop by granting such powers to a youthful priest (adolescentulo sacerdote), one too who belonged to a religious Order; if such were the case, it would undoubtedly diminish ecclesiastical discipline and disturb the peace of the diocese. He urged Propaganda to write clearly and distinctly and without tergiversation, just what authority he, as bishop, held; and to tell him whether he or the malcontents and disturbers of the peace were to rule the diocese. “We live among non-Catholic sects,” Carroll writes, “and there is no hope of the civil magistracy or the secular powers putting these stubborn men in their place. Therefore, it seems to me that it is of grave importance to strengthen episcopal jurisdiction rather than to lessen it by exemptions; for, if the power of the bishop fails, then all hope of regulating the moral conduct of the clergy and of the laity perishes.”^b His priests were so impatient with Rome’s apparent solicitude for the wishes of the rebels that they were then preparing a letter to the Holy See to vindicate Carroll’s action. The unfortunate affair is mentioned in another letter from Carroll’s pen, dated October 12, 1799, in which he asserts that there were not at that time thirty Germans in the city who were unable to speak English, and that even the children of these were more familiar with English than with the language of their parents. It was on the receipt of these letters that Cardinal Gerdil wrote (December 14, 1799) from Venice, where he had gone for the election of Pius VII, assuring Carroll that he was extremely sorry to learn that the Congregation’s kindness to Reuter had given

^a *Ibid.*, *Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. iii, f. 66.

^b *Ibid.*, f. 67.

the latter ground to cause so much trouble in the diocese.¹⁰ The esteem of the Holy See for Carroll's prudence, piety, personal character and learning was a high one, and the Holy See felt certain that the episcopal dignity and authority would never suffer by his administration. Gerdil's letter to Reuter on December 21, 1799, left the insurgent priest little hope of success in his schismatic church movement; but the scandal continued for four years. In 1801, Reuter showed a desire to be reconciled to the Church. He wrote to Bishop Carroll, from New York, on September 4, 1801, asking to be restored to his priestly functions;¹¹ and on November 19, 1801, Dr. Carroll laid down the conditions for his submission, namely, the recognition of no other ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Diocese of Baltimore except that of the Holy See and the Ordinary, the submission of all, no matter of what nationality, to that jurisdiction, and the necessity of delegation by the Bishop for the legitimate and canonical exercise of priestly functions.¹²

1. The Bishop will require nothing from the German Catholics, which can be refused by any one, who understands the doctrines of his church, her invariable government and discipline, and wishes to avoid the dreadful evils of schism, and a shameful degradation of the Spiritual authority, committed by Christ to the Apostles and their Successors in the pastoral office.

2. If he should consent to the building of a new church in Baltimore for the Germans, it will be on the following conditions: 1. that the said church be subject in all spiritual things to episcopal government and visitation, as it is expressly directed for all other churches, in the Pope's Brief for establishing the Bishoprick of Baltimore. 2. that no clergyman, who is not allowed by the Bishop; or, who having been allowed, be suspended afterwards, shall perform any ministry in the said church, teach, preach, or administer any Sacraments therein. And if this ever be done, in defiance of episcopal right and the laws of the Church, the Bishop may, without opposition, interdict & forbid divine service in the aforesaid Church.

3. That it must not be pretended, that the Church so to be built, shall be entitled to the rights of a parochial church, but only be considered as a chapel of ease to St. Peter's church, which alone shall enjoy the prerogatives of a parish church, till it be otherwise ordained by the Bishop or his Successors. Therefore, the Rector or pastor of St. Peter's alone

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 68.

¹¹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 7-A8.

¹² *Ibid.*, Case 7-A9.

shall perform all pastoral functions, such as baptisms, marriages, burials, the administration of the sick, regulations for Easter communion, and the first communion of young persons. He alone shall keep the register of baptisms, marriages & burials.

4. The Germans, who wish to build such a church, should chuse and by a written paper signed with their own hands, constitute & appoint a few of their own number to transact with the Bishop all necessary articles, relating to the said church, & authorizing the persons so appointed to sign the articles of agreement in their name, binding themselves to keep faithfully all, that shall be agreed on; and declaring, that if ever hereafter they themselves, or others, their successors, should act contrary thereto, that alone shall be a good and sufficient cause for the Bishop to forbid the performance of divine service in the said church.¹³

These conditions Reuter was influenced against accepting by the trustees, and the conflict between Carroll and the rebels, who were led by a Mr. Shorb, came to a head, when he appointed Father Brosius to the pastorate of the church. The case was then carried to Court, and was won by Doctor Carroll in May, 1805.¹⁴

One of the principal reasons, apart from the paucity of German Catholics in Baltimore, alleged by Bishop Carroll, for refusing the foundation of St. John's Church, was the fact that he was planning a Cathedral for his episcopal city. On his return to Baltimore in 1790, Bishop Carroll made his residence at St. Peter's Church, which was the pro-Cathedral during his episco-

¹³ *Propaganda Archives, Scrittura riferite, America Centrale*, vol. iii, ff. 117-119. (In Italian and English.)

¹⁴ A case, somewhat similar, had occurred in Pennsylvania shortly before Reuter's schism. The Franciscan, Father Francis Fromm, who had left a house of his order in Mainz, and who had been denounced to the Papal Nuncio at Cologne by the Archbishop of Mainz on July 26, 1796, on account of heretical teachings, fled to America and presented credentials of himself to Dr. Carroll, who sent him to the missions in York and Lancaster Counties, Pennsylvania. It would seem from a document in *Propaganda Archives* that he had taken possession by fraud of Father Brouwer's property, known then as Sportsman's Hall, near Greensburg, Penna., and had written to Rome suggesting that a bishopric be created in Pennsylvania with this property as the Bishop's demesne. Naturally, he proposed himself for the See. In January, 1797, *Propaganda* informed Carroll of Fromm's status, enclosing the Archbishop's letter, and asking for further information about the renegade Franciscan. Fromm defied Dr. Carroll's jurisdiction, and a civil case arose between Father Brouwer's congregation and Fromm, the first of its kind to be tried before the American courts. Dr. Carroll was upheld and Fromm was ousted, the property being restored to its rightful owners. It is now the site of St. Vincent's Archabbey, at Beatty, Penna. Fromm went to Philadelphia (1798) to have the case tried before a higher court and died there of yellow fever without being reconciled to the Faith. Carroll wrote to *Propaganda* on February 10, 1802, stating that he had small hopes that the schismatic would recant. (*Propaganda Archives, Scrittura riferite, America Centrale*, vol. iii, ff. 135-137.)

pate. In the Brief *Ex hac apostolicae*, creating the See of Baltimore, Dr. Carroll was commissioned to erect in that city a Cathedral church, whenever the times and circumstances would allow. Thirty years were to pass, however, before the Cathedral was ready for Divine service. The first act towards the building of the Cathedral was the legal incorporation of the "Trustees of the Roman Catholic Church in Baltimore Town," in November, 1795.¹⁵ The trustees met at St. Peter's presbytery on December 29, 1795, and it was resolved that subscriptions should be taken up to build a Cathedral Church. "The courage of the Bishop," writes Riordan, "in undertaking so great a work bordered on audacity, considering the slender means at his disposal."¹⁶ Money came in slowly and on June 23, 1803, Dr. Carroll published a Pastoral appealing for support on the great project. The part dealing with the Cathedral is as follows:

My beloved Brethren: Knowing, that you are mostly under the immediate charge and direction of virtuous and zealous Pastors, it did not appear to me necessary to add my frequent instructions to their useful lessons and Christian exhortations; but, being required by the occasion, of which I shall now speak, to solicit your aid for the effecting of an important purpose, interesting the whole diocese, I cannot omit availing myself of it so far, as to renew the assurances of my solicitude for your progress in true Godliness and the exercise of a religious life, most conducive to your everlasting happiness. This is the first object, not only of the ministry committed to me by our Supreme Pastor and Lord Jesus Christ, but should be so of every act of my life, and particularly in my intercourse with you: It is the object of this address. Having long entertained an anxious desire of dedicating a Church to God, to be created by the united effort of all our brethren in this Diocese, to stand as the evidence of their attachment to the unity of the episcopal government, as well as their unity in faith, (for these are inseparable); and being made duly sensible by my descent into the vale of tears, that I ought not to expect to see this work accomplished, unless it be soon undertaken; I am induced to recur to, and entreat you, by your attachments to the interests of our holy religion, and affection for its author, and the object of its worship, Jesus Christ, to lend your aid towards carrying this design into effect.

The particular exigencies of every Congregation for building and pre-

¹⁵ Many of these details are taken from the excellent monograph on the Baltimore Cathedral, entitled *Cathedral Records*, published anonymously by Rev. M. J. Riordan. Baltimore, 1906.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 19. See the *Proposals for a Subscription to Build a Cathedral Church at Baltimore*, in the *Researches*, vol. ix, pp. 153-154.

serving their churches and places of worship, and affording a subsistence to their pastors forbid the expectation, and even the desire of ample contribution from the generality of our Brethren, living at a distance from the Seat of the intended Cathedral. But who are there amongst you, that cannot, without inconvenience to yourselves, manifest your good disposition for the advancement of God's glory, and your admiration of the examples left by our Catholic brethren in all those countries, on which the rays of true religion have shown and where its energy has been felt? What illustrious monuments of their faith and piety still subsist in the venerable Cathedral churches, that seem to defy the devastating hand of time, and still replenish beholders with awe and reverence? You are not invited to contribute your aid to raise a church of the same grandeur and sublimity; but one, which in an humble style, may remain as a testimonial of your devotion to the glory of God your creator, and that you concurred to erect the altar, on which the blood of the spotless Lamb will be daily offered for all, abiding in the fellowship of pure doctrine, worship and charity, under the spiritual authority of the episcopal see established in the city of Baltimore by the Vicar of our Lord Jesus Christ.

I therefore pray and exhort the head of every Catholic family in the United States, and other Catholics, who, though having families, can nevertheless afford it, to place in the hands of their Pastor, one dollar annually in the month of December, for four successive years; and farther, if it be consistent with their several situations, to take an interest in the Lottery instituted on this account. With this aid our desired purpose will be easily effected, and without distress or burden on any. And I particularly recommend to, and intreat my Reverend Brethren, to solicit, receive, and transmit these yearly contributions, and at the same time, the names of the Contributors, to remain as perpetual memorials of the sincerity and integrity of their faith, and to entitle them, living or dead, to a participation in the offerings and prayers, which will be presented in the intended Church, before the Throne of Mercy.¹⁷

We have no means of knowing with certainty the results of this subscription. Three years later, Bishop Carroll appealed (August 26, 1803) to Napoleon Bonaparte, then First Consul of the French, asking for assistance:

In the name of the Catholics of the United States, the Bishop of Baltimore has the honour to beg your assistance in an undertaking, which, strange as it would appear in the country which owes its happiness to you, should not be so in the beneficent views that you have shown in the favour of religion. The glorious use that you have made of your power

¹⁷ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 10-J1; printed in the *Researches*, vol. ix, pp. 155-157.

to rebuild its altars is a sure guarantee of the interest with which it inspires you, and of the zeal that you will exert to strengthen it wherever it needs your aid.

It is owing to this consideration, General First Consul, that the Catholics of the United States presume to turn to you in the impossibility which confronts them of erecting a public monument of their piety. After having long groaned under oppression, they now enjoy under a wise and moderate government the exercise of their religion. But they lack a worthy and fitting temple in which they can assemble; and their past misfortunes have so reduced them that they are not able to bear by themselves the outlay that this building would require.

Are they presumptuous, General First Consul, in believing that you would not disdain to second their wishes and to let them experience your liberality for the construction of a cathedral in the city of Baltimore? This fresh proof of your devotion to the good of the Church, in a country so closely allied to yours, would cause the Catholics of the United States to participate in the sentiments which those of France ever show towards you; and would unite in them a sense of personal gratitude to the admiration which they feel for your great qualities and achievements.

As for myself, happy to act as their spokesman with you, I shall take the liberty to say that I share their confidence and to offer you the assurance of the profound respect with which, I am, General First Consul,

Your humble and obedient servant,

✠ J. Bishop of Baltimore.¹⁸

A lottery was announced in 1803 by the trustees, and in 1805, a controversy arose over the action of the trustees in transferring the site of the proposed edifice. It was resolved to abandon the land on what was known as Cathedral Hill and to build on the burial ground adjoining St. Peter's Church. "When the space had been partly cleared," says Shea, "and some of the bodies were already removed, there arose a strong feeling of disapprobation, and a memorial was presented to the Bishop, remonstrating against the use of that spot, and especially against the disturbing of the dead."¹⁹ The Sulpicians joined with those who made this protest, and on February 26, 1806, they sent a joint letter, signed by Fathers Nagot, Tessier, David, Badad, Flaget, and Du Bourg, in which they appealed to Carroll not to allow the Cathedral to be erected on "such unsuitable ground."²⁰ As the "standing clergy of the Cathedral," the Sulpicians were within

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Case 10-07; printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 62-63.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 399.

²⁰ See this Memorial in *RIORDAN*, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

their rights in making this legitimate protest; and although Bishop Carroll had already made final arrangements for the building of the Cathedral, Father Du Bourg was successful in obtaining Dr. Carroll's consent to erect the new church on the present site. A new subscription was opened, headed by the leading Catholics, and the land was bought from John Eager Howard, the former Governor of Maryland. On July 7, 1806, the blessing of the cornerstone took place. An interesting series of letters which passed between Bishop Carroll and Latrobe, the architect, is in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives.²¹ In May, 1808, Dr. Carroll made another appeal in the form of a Pastoral Letter to the Catholics of the United States for support in the project, asking the clergy to coöperate in raising the necessary money:

After the settlement by due authority of a Catholic Episcopacy within the United States, it was natural for the faithful members of the Church to hope that an event so important in the history of religion might here be followed by the same happy consequences which have been produced in other countries in similar establishments. So soon as it pleased God to weaken and disable the hand of oppression which fell so heavily on the first disciples of Christ and their Successors during the early ages of Christianity, they began to express their gratitude for their deliverance, by adding solemnity to the public acts of Divine worship and consecrating august and venerable temples to the service of their Maker. In succeeding ages, and in proportion to the extension of the Gospel, its increase was constantly signalled by the same zeal for the beauty of the house of God, and where the glory dwelleth, to which ardour of Faith and religious devotion are to be attributed the innumerable monuments of the piety of our ancestors still subsisting in Catholic countries, and those which once were Catholic, they subsist as so many evidences of the Faith transmitted from the Apostles, and by the efficacy of which the nations of the earth were brought into the fold of Jesus Christ and into the communion of his true Church.

By such examples, recorded in the annals of the Church, we likewise were called upon to express our gratitude, as well as it pleased Divine Providence to rescue our Faith from the depression and obscurity in which it had been held. In obedience to this duty, a resolution was conceived to celebrate our auspicious delivery from iniquitous laws and the introduction of an episcopal government to the Catholic American Church, by raising everywhere as much as possible, places of Catholic worship for the encouragement and convenience of the faithful, and also by a general

²¹ The entire series of these documents is published in RIORDAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 3082.

contribution to erect a Cathedral and mother church of this vast Diocese, in which the Vicar of Christ has established the Episcopal See.

It is a subject of consolation that much has been done towards the multiplication of our churches and chapels throughout the United States. For carrying into effect the other object of my solicitude, the erection of a Cathedral, a letter was sent some years ago, to all the congregations, earnestly soliciting their co-operation in a work, undertaken as a monument of general gratitude, and which, when completed, might afford to the other Churches of the Diocese an example of the majesty and solemnity of divine service, when it is conducted according to the form prescribed by our liturgy. Whilst the inhabitants of Baltimore, who will be more constantly benefited by the erection of the Cathedral, are using their best endeavours to promote it, to their praise be it said, they have generously contributed to aid and assist their brethren of many of the congregations, in order to complete their churches. The assistance required from all was such as could not be burdensome to any individual, though the general result would go far to promote the great work which is begun. The contribution of one dollar in the year, for a few years, from every Catholic of mature age—if that be too burdensome, from every Catholic family was the utmost of my request, not doubting but that if some should prove deficient, their deficiency would be amply compensated by the liberality of others who would not limit their donations merely to the sum requested. Small as this demand was, it has not been complied with, except in a very partial manner. But I do not attribute it so much to the unwillingness of our Brethren in Christ, as to the subject not having been recommended with due earnestness and perseverance.

Allow me therefore, to entreat you, by the zeal for the honour of God, the Majesty of His Worship, and desire of its being performed in that expressive manner which tends so much to elevate the beholders to the contemplation of things celestial, to read this address to your respective congregations, to enforce it with your own exhortations, to repeat the readings and exhortations at least twice during a few years, to allot a time for the payment of the contributions and to take upon yourself the trouble of collecting and transmitting them to Baltimore.²²

Bishop Carroll did not see the completion of the edifice, which was finished in the episcopate of Maréchal, and opened for Divine worship in May, 1821.²³

The Catholics in the south-eastern part of the City of Baltimore arranged as early as 1792 to have Mass said on Sundays for themselves. The Sulpicians from St. Mary's Seminary took

²² Printed copy in *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 10-Y1; printed in the *Researches*, vol. ix, pp. 143-144.

²³ Cf. *SHRA*, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 161; *Riordan*, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

charge of the little congregation, and in 1795, Bishop Carroll placed that section of the city under the pastorate of Father John Floyd, whom he had ordained to the priesthood, on December 17, of that year. Father Floyd, who erected St. Patrick's Church, at Fell's Point, died in the yellow fever epidemic of 1797, and was buried before the door of the modest church he had built. In 1807, a new and more substantial church was erected on the same spot, and it was in this second Catholic church in Baltimore that Bishop Flaget was consecrated on November 4, 1810. Alongside the Seminary, the Sulpicians had constructed the Church of St. Mary, and these three churches sufficed during the rest of Carroll's life-time to accommodate the Catholics of the city. Outside Baltimore, there were churches at Frederick, Emmitsburg, Hagerstown, Leonardtown, Bohemia, Washington, D. C., and Georgetown, D. C., and in the old Jesuit centres of the four lower counties of the State. Bishop Carroll resided at St. Peter's pro-Cathedral from the year 1786-87 until his death. Father Charles Sewall was pastor of the church from 1782 until 1793, when he was succeeded by Father Beeston. When the latter died (1809), Father Enoch Fenwick was appointed to the charge and governed the parish for the next decade. The city of Baltimore had about one thousand Catholics at the time of Carroll's consecration. In 1815, the number had increased to ten thousand.

The history of the Catholic Church in Virginia is intimately connected with that of Maryland. During the years when the Jesuits governed and directed the Church in the thirteen colonies, the Jesuits of Maryland visited the scattered Catholic families along the Potomac. During the early part of the eighteenth century, as Virginia's Catholic historian has pointed out, certain Catholic families had formed a settlement on the south side of the Potomac, along Aquia Creek. There they built a log chapel, dedicated to the Mother of God, and the Maryland priests came about once a month to celebrate Holy Mass.³⁴ In his *Relation* of 1785, Dr. Carroll stated that there was not a single priest in Virginia, and that the Catholic flock of the State numbered about two hundred souls. In 1791, Father John Dubois,

³⁴ MAGUI, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, pp. 37-38. Richmond, 1906.

the future Bishop of New York, with some French priests, arrived at Norfolk, with letters of introduction from Lafayette to President Monroe and to the Randolphs, the Lees, and other prominent Virginia families. Father Dubois came to Richmond during the following winter, and celebrated Mass, at the invitation of the General Assembly, in the House of Delegates there. Among the priests who ministered to the Catholics of Virginia after Father Dubois had left for the Maryland Missions, were Father T. C. Mongrand (1798), and Father Miguel, who was sent to Richmond by Archbishop Carroll in 1811. Apparently no resident pastor was sent to Richmond until 1820, when Father John Mahoney began his priestly ministrations in the old Capital. In Norfolk, a church was begun by Father Bushe, but the date is uncertain. On November 26, 1801, he wrote to Bishop Carroll from Norfolk suggesting that the congregation there should be offered to Father Egan, the Franciscan. The trustees of Norfolk were not in sympathy with Father Bushe, against whom they made the strange charge that he did not consecrate at Holy Mass.²⁵ Bushe was succeeded by Father Michael Lacy, probably in 1803, who remained in charge until his death in 1815.²⁶ One of Archbishop Neale's first appointments was that of Rev. James Lucas to the church in Norfolk. The trustees, led by a Dr. Fernandez, refused to receive the new pastor on the score that they had not been consulted before his appointment. A conflict ensued, and the church was placed under an interdict by Archbishop Neale. The Norfolk schism was at its height when Archbishop Maréchal visited that city (June 12, 1818) with the hope of bringing peace to the malcontents. The schismatics then tried unsuccessfully to send Rev. Richard Hayes to Utrecht for consecration as their bishop, with a view to founding an independent Church. Confusion worse confounded reigned in Norfolk from Carroll's death down to the action of the Sacred Congregation in sending a bishop to Norfolk in 1821. The house of Colonel Fitzgerald, Washington's secretary, in Alexandria, was the place where Holy Mass was said for the Catholics of that city and vicinity before the little town had a chapel of its own. Father

²⁵ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11B-B3.

²⁶ *SHRA, op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 493.

John Thayer ministered to the Catholics there in 1794.²⁷ In 1796, Father Francis Neale erected the first church in Alexandria.

Charleston became another hot-bed of rebellion against authority in the last years of Carroll's episcopate. The first priest sent to Charleston by Dr. Carroll was Father Ryan, probably about 1788. He rented an abandoned, half-ruinous Protestant church, and Holy Mass was celebrated here by himself and by Father Keating, who succeeded him in 1790. By that time the congregation numbered two hundred souls. Dr. Carroll mentions his strong hopes for the Church in Charleston in a letter to Antonelli, dated February 6, 1790.²⁸ The Charleston Catholics appealed to Don José Ignacio Viar, Spanish consul at New York, to enlist the sympathy of the King of Spain in their project of building a church in their city. On April 12, 1790, Viar wrote to Carroll that he had received word from Madrid that the conditions of the Church in Charleston should be investigated, and that the King wished to know how much money would be needed to build the church there.²⁹ Carroll replied on April 20, 1790, expressing the deep sense of his gratitude towards the King of Spain, and giving Viar the facts about Charleston as he knew them. Carroll stated that he was about to leave for England, and hoped that by the time he had returned the answer from the Spanish Court would have reached the United States.³⁰ In June, 1790, however, he wrote to the trustees of the Charleston congregation, warning them that while he could not withhold his approval of their method of raising the necessary money, he regretted that a foreign Court should be allowed to have such a privilege—"I cannot help expressing a wish that your clergy may be entirely independent of aid unconnected with any foreign prince. . . . Neither you gentlemen nor the ecclesiastical superior in these States can effectually interfere in the appointment of Clergymen protected and supported by foreign princes. . . ."³¹ Further correspondence between Carroll and Viar exists in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives, but it is not certain

²⁷ Cf. *Researches*, vol. xxvi, pp. 82-83.

²⁸ *Propaganda Archives, Scrittura originale*, vol. 893, not folioed.

²⁹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-C7.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Case 9-B1.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Case 9-F3.

whether the King of Spain extended his generosity to Charleston, as he had already done to New York.

In the spring of 1793, Rev. Simon Felix Gallagher came to the United States, strongly recommended by Archbishop Troy of Dublin.⁸² Dr. Gallagher was "a man of extraordinary eloquence, of a superior intellect, and finely cultivated mind."⁸³ Bishop Carroll liked the man and sent him to what was then a difficult post, the congregation at Charleston. Gallagher's talents were not accompanied, as was so often the case during Carroll's episcopate, with a proper respect for authority, or with an adequate appreciation of the priestly dignity and character. Piety was rarely linked with eloquence in the character of many of these brilliant Irish priests who came to America at this time. Shortly after Gallagher took up his duties at Charleston, Troy wrote to Carroll (Dublin, December 18, 1794) warning Bishop Carroll of the uncertainty of the man's character;⁸⁴ and the trustees were soon obliged to report serious misdemeanours on the part of their pastor.⁸⁵ Dr. Carroll removed Gallagher and sent a priest to Charleston in his place. Gallagher then appealed to Rome against Bishop Carroll,⁸⁶ and on March 13, 1802, Propaganda sent Gallagher's letter to the bishop, assuring Carroll that the Sacred Congregation had every confidence that his action in regard to the Irish recalcitrant was just and prudent. But since it has always been the usage of the Holy See to give a hearing in every case, Carroll was asked to send to Rome a defence of his episcopal action in Gallagher's case.⁸⁷ On November 25, 1802, Dr. Carroll replied to Gallagher's

⁸² "The Rev. Mr. Gallagher presented me with Your Lordship's favour of February 3rd. As his talents are commended by so good a judge as Your Grace, and he gave indeed a very pleasing specimen of them in a sermon before the congregation of this town, I have appointed him to the care of Charleston, S. C., which is a place requiring a man of considerable abilities which Mr. Gallagher possesses, and great purity of manners, which I hope is another trait of his character."—Carroll to Troy, Baltimore, May 10, 1793, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 10-A9, printed in the *Researches*, vol. xiii, p. 166.

⁸³ ENGLAND, *The Early History of the Diocese of Charleston*, in his *Works*, vol. iv, p. 307 (Messmer edition), Cleveland, 1908; FOLEY, *The Catholic Church in Georgia*, manuscript.

⁸⁴ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-M1.

⁸⁵ Samuel Corbett to Carroll Charleston, October 18, 1801, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-U4.

⁸⁶ *Propaganda Archives, Scrittura riferite, America Centrale*, vol. iii, f. 138.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, *Lettere*, vol. 283, f. 95.

charges.³⁸ and the Irish priest, realizing that the suspension might be upheld by Rome, decided to go in person to prosecute his case. During his absence, Dr. Carroll sent Father Le Mercier to Charleston (September, 1803), but the trustees refused to receive him, except as *locum tenens* until Gallagher's return. Le Mercier refused to be treated as a conditional pastor, and the trustees might have been brought to a saner view of their attitude, had not Gallagher returned and prevented Father Le Mercier from saying Mass in the church. On August 15, 1805, Bishop Carroll suspended Gallagher, forbidding him to celebrate Mass outside his own house.³⁹ The trustees then threatened to tear the church down, and Dr. Gallagher opened a public chapel in his own home. Thus was born another independent Church in the Diocese of Baltimore, and a schism which was not settled until Bishop England's day (1820-1842). The schism lasted during the remainder of Carroll's episcopate, and was one of the unfortunate situations which Maréchal had to deal with after the death of his two predecessors. Dr. Carroll spared no effort to put a stop to the scandal. One of his last appeals to the trustees of Charleston (September 15, 1811), might have succeeded in creating a better understanding,⁴⁰ but by this time Gallagher was joined by another rebel, the Augustinian, Father Robert Browne, whom Carroll had appointed to the congregation in Augusta, Ga., in 1810.⁴¹ Meanwhile, Carroll had received Propaganda's letter of March 12, 1803, in which the Sacred Congregation admitted that the officials at Rome who were at first in favour of Gallagher's side of the controversy had been deceived. It is somewhat curious to find Propaganda excusing its own officials on the score that they had believed Gallagher to be a *parochus*, with a "parochia

³⁸ *Ibid.*, *Scrittura riferite, America Centrale*, vol. iii, ff. 144-145. "Res religionis nostrae in illa civitate misero loco esse, partim ex negligentia, partim ex pravis moribus missionarii, qui ita crapulo indulgeret, ut non pios tantum sed omnes honestos cives offenderet."

³⁹ The specific charges will be found in letters in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11-F1, F2.

⁴⁰ Cf. *United States Catholic Miscellany*, vol. ii, p. 24.

⁴¹ Carroll had been the recipient of frequent letters from Georgia, asking for priests to minister to the flocks there. On January 28, 1804, John Casey wrote to him, saying: "The denomination of Roman Catholics is considered a form of Christians who worship idols" (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-L5); on December 26, 1805, an anonymous correspondent wrote to Carroll from Augusta: "A few more years without a pastor and the Roman Catholics of this town and the neighbourhood will lose even the name." (*Ibid.*, Case 1-A8.)

veri nominis, certis finibus circumscripta, et in titulum conferri solita,"⁴² when these same officials had silenced the Philadelphia schismatics with the decision that there were no *parochi* in the United States. The rest of this unsavoury episode belongs to the episcopate of Neale and Maréchal. Archbishop Neale ordered Father Browne to return to Augusta, but instead of obeying, he went to Rome in Dr. Gallagher's behalf. Dr. Gallagher submitted to the archbishop and was pardoned, but was told his services would not be needed further in the diocese. Meanwhile, Father Browne returned with a letter (October 8, 1816) from Cardinal Litta, Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda, in which both Gallagher and himself were vindicated. Archbishop Neale was ordered to reinstate the two priests and to recall Father Clorivière from Charleston. This is the meaning of Maréchal's somewhat bitter complaint about the facility with which Propaganda listened to these calumnies. This letter Gallagher handed to Archbishop Neale in person, who immediately explained the case to Pope Pius VII in one of the strongest letters (April 13, 1817) which ever reached the Holy See from America.⁴³ This correspondence exists in the *Shea Transcripts*, Georgetown College Archives (1815-1818). Neale's letter opened the eyes of the authorities at Rome, but before the Brief (July 9, 1817) rectifying the mistake had come, the Archbishop died (June 18, 1817). The Brief will be found in the *Jus Pontificium de Propaganda Fide, Pars Prima*, IV, 577-8. Archbishop Maréchal suspended both these men, and sent two Jesuits (Fathers Fenwick and Wallace) to settle the schism. The affair now assumed larger proportions. One whole volume of documents in the Propaganda Archives [*Scritture riferite, America Centrale* (1813-1820)], bears the sub-title: *Carolina-Cause di Browne e Gallagher che appellano alla S. Sede, dal 1813 a tt. il 1820*. Gallagher died at Natchez, December 13, 1825, aged sixty-nine.

The Church in Savannah was begun about 1797 by Father Le Mercier. The *Cathedral Registers* tell us that on May 30, 1800, the cornerstone of the "Roman Catholic Church" was laid after the Mayor had granted "the humble petition of Le Mercier,

⁴² *Propaganda Archives, Lettere*, vol. 285, f. 110.

⁴³ Cf. *Shea*, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 34.

priest, on behalf of his congregation."⁴⁴ In February, 1803, Father Felix McCarthy's name appears, and that same year there came to Savannah the Abbé Carles, who had been a member of the Asylum Colony in Pennsylvania.⁴⁵ The Abbé Carles had gone to San Domingo some time previous to December 7, 1803, the date of his arrival in Savannah; and after announcing his presence in that city to Bishop Carroll, he was instructed to assume the pastorate of the Church there. On February 3, 1804, Carles wrote to Carroll describing the unfortunate situation of the French refugees from the West Indies. In 1805, Carles was obliged to return to France to arrange some family affairs, and after his return in 1807, he wrote to Dr. Carroll, saying that he had gone to Augusta, Ga., where there was a considerable number of Catholics. The trustees of the congregation in Augusta wanted Carles to divide his time between that city and Savannah, and they wrote to that effect to Dr. Carroll, on August 24, 1807:

The Roman Catholics of Augusta with the greatest respect for your Lordship, and persuaded that they can attribute to nothing but the difficulty you have experienced in procuring a clergyman such as you wish to send them, their being so long deprived of the consolations they would derive from the exercise of their religious duties; lately held a meeting in order to prevail on Mons'r l'Abbé Carles, to divide his time between the Catholics of Savannah and them. He has replied in the most satisfactory manner to the propositions made to him in behalf of their meeting and assures us he will most willingly consent to spend three months alternately with each of the two congregations, provided such arrangement receive the approbation of your Lordship.

As Mons'r l'Abbé Carles will have the honor of writing to you himself on this subject, we at present content ourselves in making known the object and wishes of the Catholics of this place, in order to obtain your consent thereto and appointment of this amiable and much respected clergyman.⁴⁶

Bishop Carroll then instructed Abbé Carles to minister to the Augusta Catholics, and on October 12, 1807, Carles wrote that he feared his Savannah congregation would be unwilling to agree to this division of labour:

⁴⁴ Cf. *Researches*, vol. xxviii, p. 64.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Records*, vol. xviii, p. 155.

⁴⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-G7; printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 431-432.

My Lord,

I have received in due time your esteemed favour of the 29 June last, with so much more satisfaction, that from your long silence I felt apprehension, that my involuntary long absence, or some previously taking advantage of the same, might have indisposed your lordship against myself.

I have after your assent and even agreeably to your desire, undertaken a journey to Augusta in the beginning of August, with the intention of visiting the neighbouring places where my presence should be required. But unfortunately I fell sick ten days after my arrival, my illness which first proved very severe, terminated in an intermittent fever which only left me after my return to Savannah, and the fortieth day and thanks to the Almighty I am now upon the recovery.

The good reception I met among the faithful of Augusta has been beyond my expectations; they have offered me as your lordship will see by their inclosed letter to divide my time between them and the congregation of Savannah, so as to spend a quarter alternately among each. Considering perhaps the increasing of my yearly emoluments which at present are barely sufficient for a decent maintenance, but more impressed with a sentiment of gratitude for bestowing their confidence on me, I have answered them, that I had not any objection to comply with their wishes, provided we might have the approbation of your Lordship, without considering whether the congregation of this city would agree to these arrangements. I could not yet form a meeting of the vestry, the majority of the members being absent, owing to the sickly time; but I have reason to believe that there will be a strong opposition. By principle as well as by duty I am averse to all kind of contest, and I would be extremely sorry if any was to take place which should become of no advantage to either side; and consequently, setting my pecuniary interest aside, in order to avoid it, I respectfully beg leave to suggest to your lordship, that if possible another clergyman was sent to Augusta it would prevent and settle at once all future difference. I leave to your lordship's wisdom to determine upon; and will be at all times ready to receive and obey with submission such orders as you will be pleased to direct.⁴⁷

To avoid any further trouble in this southern part of his diocese, Archbishop Carroll sent to Augusta, the Rev. Robert Browne, O. S. A., probably in the year 1810. Father Browne visited Dr. Gallagher at Charleston for the purpose of making a collection among the members of that congregation for the church in Augusta. On October 6, 1812, Browne wrote to Dr. Carroll that the church was nearly completed, and on May 29, 1813, he announced that it had been blessed on Christmas Day,

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Case 2-G8; printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 432-433.

1812. "It was a novel spectacle for the inhabitants of this part of Georgia to behold. They appeared on the whole to be well pleased."⁴⁸ The two Irish priests, Gallagher and Browne, now seem to have formed a conspiracy to control the Church in the States of North and South Carolina and Georgia, and they nearly succeeded in setting up an independent Church in this territory. Father Le Mercier died in 1806, and in 1812, Dr. Carroll sent to Charleston, the Rev. Joseph Pierre Picot de Clorivière. Few clergymen of the period had a more astonishing career than this dashing Major-General of the Vendéans. Clorivière was born in Brittany in 1768, and was an officer in the French army when the Revolution began. A Royalist, he was obliged to flee from Paris, although about to be married to a young lady of Versailles, and as a general under Cadoudal, he rendered excellent service to the Royalist cause. In 1800, the Count d'Artois (Charles X), on behalf of his brother Louis XVIII, decorated him with the Order of St. Louis. Clorivière was suspected of complicity in the attempt on Napoleon's life, and was again obliged to take refuge in Brittany. When Napoleon became Emperor, Clorivière decided to quit France; he came to Baltimore, where he entered St. Mary's Seminary, and was ordained to the priesthood by Archbishop Carroll in 1812.⁴⁹ It was to the difficult post at Charleston, "torn by divisions and saddened by scandals," that Carroll sent the worthy French priest, then in his fifty-fifth year. There are few correspondents whose letters are preserved in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives, who show a more thorough knowledge of the world and of the affairs of the Church in general than Clorivière. On his arrival in Charleston, as he wrote to Carroll, November 16, 1812, he was told that there were more French Catholics there than in any other city of the United States—"but it is not in Church that they may be seen principally," he adds.⁵⁰ A conflict with the independent Church of Gallagher was unavoidable, and the scandal was soon the chief topic of conversation in the city.⁵¹ Gallagher and his adherents were not innocent of participation in the disturbance which occurred in June, 1814, when

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Case 2-G9; printed in the *Records*, vol. xviii, p. 420.

⁴⁹ Cf. LATHELOT, *A Story of Courage*, pp. 193-196.

⁵⁰ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-Q4.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Case 2-Q6.

Clorivière celebrated the deliverance of Pope Pius VII with a *Te Deum*. French anti-clericals and others joined in a conspiracy to kidnap Clorivière the day before the ceremony, and only the prompt action of the police saved the church and its pastor during the ceremony.⁵³ Clorivière left Charleston for France in 1814-15. He writes to Carroll from London, April 7, 1815, inveighing against *l'homme de malheur* (Napoleon), and tells the archbishop that he was "fort mal inspiré en quittant votre diocèse."⁵⁴ On November 28, 1815, he wrote from Charleston, announcing his return. Three years later, Archbishop Neale offered him the directorship of the Visitation Convent at Georgetown, and on January 13, 1818, he took up his duties at the Convent, remaining there until his death, September 29, 1826.

On September 1, 1814, Dr. Carroll wrote for the last time to Gallagher, appealing to the insubordinate priest to leave the city of Charleston and thus put an end to the schism. He offered to give Gallagher a letter of recommendation to any other bishop in the United States or in Ireland, if he would rid the Diocese of Baltimore of his presence.⁵⁵ Apparently, Gallagher never answered this letter, and for the next decade of years he led a campaign of abuse against Neale, Maréchal and England⁵⁶ in the United States and at Rome.

The status of the Diocese of Baltimore at the time of John Carroll's death can best be studied in Maréchal's *Report* to Propaganda of October 16, 1818.⁵⁷ The number of Catholics had increased to one hundred thousand by that date, the majority being resident of the State of Maryland. There were fifty-two priests in the diocese—one Italian, three Germans, four Englishmen, seven Belgians, twelve Americans, eleven from Ireland, and fourteen from France. In the city of Baltimore there were four churches (St. Peter's, St. Patrick's, St. John's, and the Seminary Chapel). The chapel at the Seminary was a very popular place of devotion. The Plain Chant was much admired, and the Sul-

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Case 2-Q7-10.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Case 2-R1.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Case 2-R5.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Case 9-M5. Previous to this, on June 22, 1814, Bishop Egan wrote to Carroll offering Gallagher a refuge in Philadelphia (cf. *Records*, vol. xiv, pp. 411-412).

⁵⁷ Printed in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. i, pp. 439-453. (*Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. iv, no. 53.)

pician Fathers estimated that in the course of the preceding year almost ten thousand had received Holy Communion. St. Peter's pro-Cathedral was too small to accommodate the people of the parish and Maréchal hoped to be able to consecrate the Cathedral within eighteen months. "Even the Protestants are happy over it, for it is the greatest ornament in the city."

The last subdivision of the Diocese of Baltimore made during Carroll's lifetime occurred about three months before his death, when Father Du Bourg was consecrated Bishop of Louisiana on September 24, 1815. The diocese, therefore, to which Leonard Neale succeeded on the morrow of Carroll's demise consisted of the States of Maryland and Virginia, the two Carolinas, Georgia, and the country west of Georgia and south of Tennessee, extending to the Mississippi.

One of the most noteworthy events within the diocese was the Memorial Service in St. Peter's pro-Cathedral on February 22, 1800, in observance of Washington's death. On December 29, 1799, Bishop Carroll issued a Pastoral to the Clergy of the diocese, recommending that Washington's birthday, February 22, of the following year, be set aside for a solemn service in memory of the illustrious leader :

Rev. Sir:—

We, Roman Catholics, in common with our fellow-citizens of the United States, have to deplore the irreparable loss our country has sustained by the death of that great man, who contributed so essentially to the establishment and preservation of its peace and prosperity. We are therefore called upon by every consideration of respect to his memory, and gratitude for his services, to bear a public testimony of our high sense of his worth when living; and our sincere sorrow, for being deprived of that protection, which the United States derived from his wisdom, his experience, his reputation, and the authority of his name. The Executive of the State of Maryland having appointed the 22nd of next February as a day of general mourning for the death of General Washington, and for a solemn tribute of respect to his memory, I likewise recommend to and direct my Reverend Brethren to give notice to their respective Congregations, to observe that day with a reverence expressive of their veneration for the deceased Father of his Country, and founder of its Independence, to beseech Almighty God to inspire into those who now are or hereafter may be, invested with authority, to pursue his wise, firm, just, and peaceable maxims of government and preserve us in the enjoyment of those public blessings, for which, next to the merciful dispensations of Provi-

dence, we are chiefly indebted to his unwearied perseverance, temperate valor, exemplary disinterestedness and consummate prudence.

Those of my Reverend Brethren who residing in towns and very populous parts of the States, may think themselves called on, as well by melancholy occasion as by public expectation to renew in the minds of their hearers, their recollection of the talents, virtues, and services of the deceased General, are advised not to form their discourses on the model of a funeral sermon, deduced from a text of Scripture, but rather to compose an oration, such as might be delivered in an Academy, and on a plan bearing some resemblance to that of St. Ambrose on the death of the young Emperor Valentinian, who was deprived of life, before his initiation in our Church, but who had discovered in early age the germ of those extraordinary qualities which expanded themselves in Washington, and flourished with so much lustre, during a life of unremitting exertions and eminent usefulness.

If these discourses shall be delivered in churches, where the Holy Sacrament is usually kept, it will be proper to remove it previously with due honour, to some decent place.⁵⁷

On the day appointed, before a large and distinguished assemblage in St. Peter's Church, Bishop Carroll pronounced a eulogy of the dead president. His discourse is too lengthy to be repeated here, but the opening thoughts will give the reader a general idea of the theme and the treatment. It is undoubtedly the best specimen of Carroll's eloquence:

When the death of men distinguished by superior talents, high endowments, and eminent virtues to their country, demands the expression of public mourning and grief their loss is accompanied generally with this mitigation, that, however grievous and painful, it is not irreparable; and that the void, caused by their mortality, will perhaps be filled up by others, uniting equal abilities with the same zeal and watchfulness for the general welfare. Hope then wipes off the tears, with which sorrow bedews the grave of departed worth. But on the present occasion no such consolation can be administered; for he, whose expectations are so sanguine, dares not promise again to his country the union of so many splendid and useful virtues, as adorned that illustrious Man, whose memory excites our grateful and tender sensibility, and at whose tomb the homages of his country is to be solemnly offered on this day. Whether we consult our own experience, by bringing into comparison with Washington, any of our contemporaries, most eminent for their talents, virtues and services; or whether we search through the pages of history, to discover in them a character of equal fame, justice and truth will acknowledge, that he stands super-eminent and unrivalled in the annals of man-

⁵⁷ Printed in the *Researches*, vol. xvii, p. 33.

kind; and that no one before him, acting in such a variety of new and arduous situations, bore with him to the grave a reputation as clear from lawless ambition, and as undefiled by injustice or oppression; a reputation neither depressed by indolence, or weakened by irresolution, nor shadowed by those imperfections which seemed to be the essential appendages of human nature, till providence exhibited in Washington this extraordinary phenomenon.

What language can be equal to the excellence of such a character? What proportion can exist between eloquence, and the tribute of praise, due to so much virtue? Nevertheless, my fellow citizens, I read in the eagerness of your attention, your desire to offer this tribute: Methinks I hear your filial piety, your tender reverence for your best friend, the Father of his Country, calling on me to bear for you, at least a feeble testimony of your unextinguishable gratitude for his services, your immortal remembrance of, and veneration for his virtues. In your name, therefore, I presume to add some grains of incense to the homage which throughout the United States every friend to their happiness now presents at the shrine of Washington. Pardon, O departed Spirit of the first of Heroes! if with the cold accents of an exhausted imagination, I likewise dare attempt to celebrate thy name, whilst so many sons of genius, ardent in youthful vigour, delineate in glowing colours the vivid features of thy mind, and the glorious deeds of thy virtuous life. With unequal steps I venture on the same career, not seeking to add lustre to the fame of Washington, or perpetuate his memory to future times; but humbly hoping, that a recital of his services will open to our countrymen the road to true honour, and kindle in their breasts the warmth of generous emulation, and real patriotism. To contribute in this manner to the best interests of his beloved country, will be to him the most gratifying commendation, if in the regions of immortality, human affairs still claim a share of his solicitude.

To superintend the movements, and operations of such a revolution; to control during its progress, jealousies, enmities, suspicions, and other conflicting passions; and from their collision, to create national and individual prosperity, peace, order, liberty and regular government required the discernment and masterly contrivance of that Supreme Director and Artist, who unites together the links and holds in his hands the chain of all human events. Contemplating, as much as is allowed to feeble mortals, his divine agency in preparing the means and conducting the progress of the American revolution, we may presume to say, that heaven impressed a character on the life of Washington, and a temper on his soul, which eminently qualified him to bear the most conspicuous part, and be its principal instrument in accomplishing this stupendous work.

Washington beheld from his retirement, as the Jewish legislator from the summit of Mount Phasga, the flourishing prosperity of his country.

Health sweetened his repose and rural occupations; his body and mind retained their usual vigor. We flattered ourselves with the expectation of his continuing long to retain them: Joy beamed in our hearts, when on every annual revolution, we gratefully hailed this, his auspicious birthday. But, alas! how dark is the cloud, that now overshadows it? The songs of festivity converted into the sobs of mourning! The prayers of thanksgiving for his health and life changed into lamentations for his death! Who feels not for him, as for his dearest friend, his protector, and his Father? Whilst he lived, we seemed to stand on loftier ground, for breathing the same air, inhabiting the same country, and enjoying the same constitution and laws, as the sublime, magnanimous Washington. He was invested with a glory, that shed a lustre on all around him. For his country's safety, he often had braved death, when clad in her most terrific form; he had familiarized himself with her aspect; at her approaching to cut the thread of life, he beheld her with constancy and serenity; and with his breath, as we may believe from knowing the ruling passion of his soul, he called to heaven to save his country, and recommended it to the continual protection of that Providence, which he so reverently adored. May his prayer have been heard! May those United States flourish in pure and undefiled religion, in morality, peace, union, liberty and the enjoyment of their excellent Constitution, as long as respect, honour, and veneration shall gather round the name of Washington; that is, whilst there shall be any surviving record of human events.⁵⁸

The only parallel to the growth of the Church in the Diocese of Baltimore during Carroll's quarter of a century of leadership is to be found in the early history of the Faith. Shea writes: "When Archbishop Carroll resigned to the hands of his Maker his life and the office he had held for a quarter of a century, the Church, fifty years before so utterly unworthy of consideration to mere human eyes, had become a fully organized body instinct with life and hope, throbbing with all the freedom of a new country. An archbishopric and four suffragan sees, another diocese beyond the Mississippi, with no endowments from princes or

⁵⁸ The original draft is in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Special C-W3*. It has been printed in the *Researches*, vol. xi, pp. 162-175. The tradition that Father Francis Neale had been called to visit Washington some hours before his death is quite erroneous. Among the other Catholic Memorial Services on February 22, 1800, was that at Philadelphia, in St. Mary's Church, where Father Matthew Carr, the Augustinian, pronounced an eloquent eulogy. In the *United States Catholic Historical Magazine* (vol. i, pp. 187-193), will be found the oration given by Rev. Dr. O'Brien, in St. Mary's Church, Albany, N. Y., that day. The commemorative exercises, held at Georgetown College, were among the most elaborate in the country. Robert Walsh, the future *littérateur* and diplomat, then sixteen, delivered "an ingenious and eloquent academical eulogium," and Master Dominick Lynch "recited with animation a pathetic elegy." (Cf. SHEA, *History of Georgetown College*, pp. 26-27.)

nobles, were steadily advancing : churches, institutions of learning and charity, all arising by the spontaneous offerings of those who in most cases were manfully struggling to secure a livelihood in modest competence. The diocese of Baltimore had theological seminaries, a novitiate and scholasticate, colleges, convents, academies, schools, a community devoted to education and works of mercy; the press was open to diffuse Catholic truth and refute false and perverted representations. In Pennsylvania there were priests and churches through the mountain districts to Pittsburgh; and all was ripe for needed institutions. In New York, Catholics were increasing west of Albany, and it had been shown that a college and an academy for girls would find ready support at the episcopal city, where a Cathedral had been commenced before the arrival of the long-expected Bishop. In New England the faith was steadily gaining under the wise rule of the pious and charitable Bishop Cheverus. In the West, the work of Badin and Nerinckx, seconded and extended by Bishop Flaget, was bearing its fruit. There was a seminary for priests, communities of Sisters were forming, and north of the Ohio the faith had been revived in the old French settlements, and Catholic immigrants from Europe were visited and encouraged. Louisiana had been confided to the zealous and active Bishop Du Bourg, destined to effect so much for the Church in this country. Catholicity had her churches and priests in all the large cities from Boston to Augusta and westward to St. Louis and New Orleans, with many in smaller towns, there being at least a hundred churches and as many priests exercising the ministry. Catholics were free; the days of penal laws had departed; professions were open to them, and in most States the avenue to all public offices.”⁵⁹

⁵⁹ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 678-679.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE AMERICAN SECULAR CLERGY

The year 1791 forms a line of division in the history of the American secular clergy. That year saw the establishment of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, by the Sulpicians, and the First National Synod, held in the same city in November. The creation of a school for ecclesiastical training in the new Diocese of Baltimore under any conditions whatsoever would have been an important factor in the growth of clerical learning and discipline; but to have such an institution, so vitally necessary to diocesan growth, founded and planned by a successful body of teachers of the ecclesiastical sciences, with a staff of scholars who had already spent a portion of their lives in the work, was a blessing which none recognized more gratefully than Bishop Carroll himself. His return to Baltimore in December, 1790, was a signal to groups of Catholics in every part of his diocese to write to their Chief Shepherd begging for a priest to come to minister unto them. Among Carroll's papers in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives are many letters from Maine to Georgia and from Maryland to the Far West of that day, telling him that land had been purchased for churches and rectories.¹ The news of his appointment to the See of Baltimore in 1789 had spread quickly over the United States, and even before his departure for England, these appeals had grown so numerous that in many cases he expressed his surprise to learn that Catholics were living in these little known parts of the new Republic. His efforts in England

¹ Case 10, sections K to T contain many of these letters, and no doubt many others have been lost. The remarkable factor in this correspondence is that in each case the little group of Catholics state no preference; it is a priest they want; and so long as he can minister to them, they seem to care little whether he can speak to them in their own tongue. As Catholics became prominent in such civic centres, however, they felt a certain amount of pride in their church; and they wanted, especially the Irish among them, a priest of pleasing manners, and with powers of eloquence. Only in one place did I find a condition placed on Carroll's choice for a certain parish. One layman wrote (December 6, 1803)—"qu' entre un Français qui ne parloit pas Anglois et un Irlandais *nos*ober le choix ne devoit pas être douteux" (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-Q2).

to secure missionaries were not successful, for he returned to the United States unaccompanied by any volunteers for the American missions. Smyth's diatribe had undoubtedly influenced many against making the sacrifice of the long journey and of the harsh living conditions in the new diocese. It meant a handicap of no mean weight in those days to be an ex-Jesuit; and with all the old prejudices revived owing to the controversy then being waged, and waged bitterly, between the leaders of the Church in Ireland and England over the Oath of Allegiance to the Crown, any accusation that savoured of bias against those who had not been members of the Society, had its subtle effect upon the priests who may have considered the new field of activity. The London Vicariate was without a head at the time. Bishop James Talbot had passed away on January 26, 1790, and his successor, Dr. Douglass, was not consecrated until after Carroll's return to America.² Consequently, Dr. Carroll had no one in London at the time to whom he could appeal officially for volunteers to the new diocese. It was only after he had taken up the episcopal burden that he was able to give his attention to the most important part of his work—the supply of the clergy for the missions. He could not have left England, however, with any misgivings on that score, for arrangements had been made with the Sulpicians to found the Seminary in his episcopal city. In the century of organized Catholic life which has gone by since their coming, the Church in the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific can recognize on every side the fruits of the labours of these worthy followers of Father Olier. They have given a service unmatched in our annals. The bare recital of the difficulties they encountered, mastered, and turned to profit for the American Church is but a part—the shadow, as it were—of their substantial and lasting influence on the country at large. They came here in 1791, to found a house of ecclesiastical studies in the Catholic heart of the nation. Behind them, in France, they had left the work of over a century wrecked and ruined by the flood of hate that had grown in volume and was soon to destroy all things like a deluge. They left cities where the best things in civilization and in refinement once existed, to come to a young country, scarcely

² WARD, *Down, etc.*, vol. i, p. 238.

recovered from the aftermath of a long and bitter war, to a city that was scarcely larger than a modern village, and to conditions which must have made men—even priests, quail, as they recognized the sacrifices American life demanded at the time. Poverty sat high on everything. They had paid their own passage across the seas; they brought the funds which would be needed to start this first American seminary; and, though many pages have been written to describe the early years of their work in Baltimore, no one can describe the agony of the apparent failure of their plans a decade later, when only the intervention of the Holy Father saved the Seminary of St. Mary to the Church in this country.

Had the Sulpicians closed the Baltimore Seminary in the dark days of 1801-1804, the history of the American secular clergy could hardly find a place within the years of Carroll's episcopate. Their arrival in this country, once wrote Cardinal Gibbons,

was coeval with the establishment of the American hierarchy . . . What Bishop Carroll has been to the hierarchy of the United States, the Sulpician Fathers have been to the clergy. He has been the model of the American episcopate; they have been the model of the clergy. They have been with us now for nearly a century and a quarter, and during all that time they have upheld the honor and the dignity of the priesthood. No stain has ever sullied their bright escutcheon. No breath of calumny has ever dimmed the mirror of their fair names . . . I have never in the whole course of my life met a Sulpician who was not worthy of his high calling.³

The training for the priesthood is always a long and tedious task, and a score of years were to pass before St. Mary's Seminary was to furnish sufficient priests for the Church in this country. Meanwhile, as during the years of his prefectship, Carroll had to depend upon the coming of priests from the Old World. Before his death in 1815, thirty young men were advanced to the priesthood in St. Mary's. Five of these joined the restored Society of Jesus before their ordination. Two were converts to the Church, and one had been a leader of the Vendéans, with a price upon his head.⁴ Of these thirty, Carroll ordained nineteen.⁵ The first American-born student to be ordained to the

³ Cardinal Gibbons in HERBERMANN, *Sulpicians, etc.*, pp. 340-341.

⁴ LATHROP, *A Story of Courage, etc.*, p. 196.

⁵ *Memorial Volume of the Centenary of St. Mary's, etc.*, pp. 49-50.

priesthood was Bishop Neale's nephew, Father William Matthews (1800), who for fifty years was pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Washington, D. C. (1805-1855). During the first twelve years of ecclesiastical training in Baltimore, St. Mary's Seminary could not boast of many students; and this in spite of every effort made by Carroll and the Sulpicians to find vocations among the young men of the diocese. Bishop Carroll saw that only one avenue lay open to secure missionaries for his diocese—to recruit priests from Europe.

His diocese contained at this time Catholics of Irish, French, German, and Spanish origin, with the greater part, however, native-born Americans. The vanguard of the immense army of immigrants that came to America during the nineteenth century had already made its presence felt in the large commercial centres; and in each case they came with their own appreciation of ecclesiastical harmony. Dr. Carroll needed mainly priests of three races—French, German, and Irish. That a grave danger was to be feared from the presence of a certain type of French clergymen can hardly be gainsaid. Even those whose loyalty to the Holy See had driven them in large numbers into exile in England were not always able to withstand the changed conditions of life around them; and the number of those who had sworn to obey the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which was essentially Gallican in spirit, was large enough to cause Propaganda to send a warning to Dr. Carroll that some of these "constitutional priests" might seek a place in his diocese. "I hope that many priests will set out from France for your country," the Cardinal wrote, on January 18, 1794, "for they will be of untold value to you in the ministry there on account of their faith in God. Beware, however, of any tainted by the sacrilegious oath of that nation, even if they give signs of retraction, for they are suspended from exercising any sacerdotal functions, by the express condemnation of His Holiness, a copy of whose letter I send you herewith."⁶ The Blanchardist Schism which disturbed the peace of the Church in England shortly after the advent of the French emigrants proves the wisdom of this advice.⁷ Some time after Carroll's return to Baltimore, the acknowledged leader of

⁶ *Propaganda Archives, Letters*, vol. 266, f. 681.

⁷ *WARD, op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 234.

the *émigré* priests, Count Jean François de la Marche, Bishop of St. Pol de Léon, wrote to him regarding the advisability of inviting some of the French priests to America. The English Government at the time was generously aiding the exiled French clergy, and had proposed to some of them to go out to Canada. The Bishop of St. Pol de Léon wrote on December 12, 1792:

It is proposed to offer in March next, a free passage to all who wish to go there, to give them land to clear and cultivate, to furnish them with all that is needed for this, with means of support for a whole year, for two-thirds of the following year, and for one-third of the third year. We think that as a return to France continues to be impossible, and as help fails on all sides, a great number should look upon it as their duty to enter upon this new life which Providence seems to open up for them. My idea is that those ecclesiastics who go should form a community and that no one should aspire to individual ownership, the labor and profits being in common. As the country is Catholic, it is desirable that the priests who go there should be models of virtue and walk in the footsteps of the early fathers of the desert. They should moreover be under the jurisdiction of the local bishops to labor for the salvation of souls in whatever work is confided to them. Our four envoys, three ecclesiastics and a military man, are a sort of commissaries whose business it is to prepossess the inhabitants in favor of the guests about to come to them; to discuss with the civil and ecclesiastical authorities the means of looking after them temporarily upon their arrival, and to allot to them the places assigned for their settlements. I find it difficult to believe that priests can succeed in an undertaking of this kind without greater assistance, but it is hoped that the Government will give help proportioned to the needs.

Some priests have a desire to go to New England [*i. e., the United States*] and to labour under your jurisdiction. The knowledge that I have acquired of that country shows that there are resources for but very few, perhaps twenty priests; also that to be of use they should know English well enough to hear confessions and give instructions in that language. I know that you have some French sections but not many, and that perhaps they are the places where it would be most difficult to accomplish much good because they are the ones that need it most, seeing that it is not there that good morals and right principles predominate. Still if I have been misinformed, and if that portion of the country offers a wider and better field than I think, I shall be greatly obliged to you if you let me know. It may perhaps be possible for me to have your answer in April or May.*

* *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Case 2-T5; printed in the Records, vol. xx, pp. 253-256.*

On February 19, 1793, Bishop Carroll replied that it afforded him the greatest pleasure to know that the English Government was interesting itself in the project of sending a number of refugees, especially priests, out to Canada, where he was sure the Bishop of Quebec, who needed missionaries, would give them a cordial welcome. "How I wish," he adds, "that it were possible to offer them an asylum here and to employ for the needs of my diocese a like number of your worthy and estimable priests; but I understand from your letter that you are well acquainted both with my limited means, and with the absolute necessity of some knowledge of the English language for a priest, that he may be of any use in the performance of ministerial functions here."⁹ However, in case there were any who understood sufficient English, Carroll had written to the former Procurator of the English Jesuits, Father Thomas Talbot, asking him to make inquiries. He needed four priests at the moment, and wanted Talbot to arrange for their passage. Nothing further came of this exchange of letters.

Instead of having to depend on these unfortunate refugees, Dr. Carroll's diocese was fortunately blessed by the coming of a group of men who represented the finest culture and the highest sanctity of the French Church. In a century that was the most un-Christian France had seen, these humble followers of Father Olier, who obeyed the call in 1791, and who came to the United States, were the very flower of the Catholic priesthood of their day. Dr. Carroll never failed to praise the zeal and learning of these providential men of the American Church, though he did not at all times feel certain that their methods in St. Mary's Seminary were calculated to form the clergy he needed. "We have now twelve young Clericks in the Seminary," he wrote to Plowden (December 7, 1804), "progressing towards Holy Orders. If a succession can be kept up, as there is an appearance, we shall be able in a great degree to supply all our Congregations. But whether the Sulpicians and their mode of studies are calculated to produce eminent scholars, is a doubt with me. In the meantime, if they form virtuous priests with divinity enough to perform the functions of the ministry and guide the souls committed to

⁹ *Ibid.*, Case 2-T6; printed in the *Records*, vol. xx, pp. 256-257.

their care, we must be satisfied, till time and opportunity give the means of introducing a more solid and comprehensive system of education.”¹⁰ Some years later, when Dr. Carroll began to see the results of the Sulpician training, he wrote to the same correspondent (January 27, 1812): “Too much praise cannot be given by me to the priests of St. Sulpice here for their zeal and sacrifices to the public cause. They now maintain and educate at their own expense twenty-two Seminarians for the ministry. I wish as favourable an account could be given of the College of Geo.-Town, which has sunk to the lowest degree of discredit.”¹¹ On another occasion, when confessing to Plowden his own growing “symptoms of laziness,” he says: “Amidst the many advantages which this Diocese had derived from the example, zeal and labours of the French clergymen employed in it, I have to lament one inconvenience arising from them, and that is, their overloading me with unceasing letters on subjects, which they might terminate as well as by referring them to me; and being very punctilious in requiring answers, there is no saying how much of my time they absorb.”¹² A man of nearly eighty years can be forgiven this petulant paragraph—few of which are to be found in his large correspondence.

The first group of these excellent French priests was composed of Fathers Nagot, the superior of the new seminary; Levadoux, who was to go out to Detroit as Carroll’s vicar-general; Tessier, who had been director of the seminary at Viviers; Garnier, who held a similar post at Lyons, and Canon Delavau, who participated in the Synod of 1791, and who returned to France when the worst period of the Revolution was passed. They arrived in Baltimore on July 10, 1791. The following year, in March, Fathers Chicoisneau, David, and Flaget, with the first student to be ordained by Bishop Carroll, Stephen Badin, arrived in the episcopal city. In June, 1792, four other French priests, who were to leave a lasting memory on the Church in the United States, came to Baltimore—Fathers Maréchal, Richard, Cicquard, and Matignon. With but few exceptions, all these priests had a

¹⁰ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

share in the early history of ecclesiastical and collegiate training in this country.¹³

Dr. Carroll's experiences during the first decade of his episcopate with the German clergymen who, with few exceptions, had come unsolicited into this country, did not tend to augment his desire to see more of them arrive in his diocese; and yet the imprudent and insubordinate attitude of priests like Fathers Goetz, Elling and Reuter ought not to dim the memories of those pioneer men of God—Fathers Farmer, Manners, Schneider, Geissler, and his first coadjutor, Bishop-elect Graessl. "The want of good clergymen is felt everywhere in the Diocese; but more so of German priests," he told Plowden in 1803;¹⁴ and his negotiations with Fathers de Broglie and Rozaven, the Paccanarists, who were in England at the time, were partly for the purpose of filling this need. When the partial restoration of the Jesuits occurred in 1806, three of those sent by the General were Germans—Father Adam Britt, S.J., whom Dr. Carroll sent to Holy Trinity Church, Philadelphia; Father Anthony Kohlmann, S.J., who was sent to the Germans in New York City, and Father John Henry, S.J., who was kept in Baltimore. The supply of priests for the German parishes in the original Diocese of Baltimore (1790-1808) never met the demand, although Dr. Carroll seldom lost an opportunity in his correspondence, especially with Father Plowden, to appeal for clergymen who were able to speak German and to direct German congregations: "I will receive with pleasure and give employment to . . . any German priest, young and healthy, and endowed with talents to make him useful, and with virtues which entitle him to the esteem and recommendation of his Bishop, and if a religious, of the Superior of his Order. The sooner they arrive the better, and they may take their passage from Bremen, Hamburg, or a port in Holland, for Philadelphia or Baltimore; and it is much to be wished that they

¹³ SHEA, *op. cit.*, pp. 379-407. "The Catholic Church in the United States is deeply indebted to the zeal of the exiled French clergy; no portion of the American Church owes more to them than that of Kentucky. They supplied our infant missions with most of their earliest and most zealous labourers; and they likewise gave us our first Bishops. There is something in the elasticity and buoyancy of the character of the French, which adapts them in a peculiar manner to foreign missions," SPALDING, in *Sketches, etc.*, p. 56.

¹⁴ *Stonycroft Transcripts*.

would endeavour to learn, in the meantime, all the English they are able."¹⁵

Outside of Pennsylvania, the majority of his people were of English and of Irish origin, and as Carroll admits in his letter to Dr. Troy, on August 24, 1791 :

I recur to your Lordship with the utmost confidence in every concern of religion, where your advice, direction, or co-operation can be obtained. Such is my esteem for your Grace, and the abilities to direct and guide with which God has blessed you, not only for the good of your own Country, but also, I trust, of this. I stand now in need of three clergymen for the service of poor abandoned Catholics. They promise faithfully to provide a comfortable support for their pastors. As I know no country but Ireland which can supply our wants, I presume to make them known to your Grace, not doubting but you will, with your wonted zeal, make known my desire to some virtuous clergymen. Allow me to request, that none may be selected for this service, of whose fitness your Grace has not the fullest conviction, either from personal knowledge or from such testimony as is entirely satisfactory. The stations for which they are destined require men of solid and approved virtue, for they will be left in great measure out of the reach of control or eye of inspection; consequently, unless they be thoroughly established in the habits of a sacerdotal purity of manners, sobriety, and of zeal, they will not be qualified for that destination which is intended. Besides this first requisite of an irreproachable conduct, strength of bodily health is absolutely necessary to undergo the fatigues and constant hardships of labour and diet to which they will be exposed. Finally, they will be placed amongst strangers and bitter enemies to our faith and Church, who will often seek opportunities of engaging in controversy, and not unfrequently with much dexterity. This renders it advisable and indispensable for the clergymen to be gentlemen fond of study, of improved understandings, and, above all, skilled in theological science. If your Lordship can find out such, disengaged from more important employment, and zealous to bestow their labours in my diocese, I shall ever esteem it a great favour to receive them from your hands.¹⁶

This naturally gave considerable discretionary powers to the Metropolitan of Dublin, and the traditional place he occupies in American Catholic annals, as a result, is not an enviable one; for he has been held up by John Gilmary Shea as the prototype of foreign meddler who caused so much uneasiness in the Church

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-G4, published in *MOHAN, op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 509-510.

here, down to the time of the First Provincial Council of Baltimore (1829), when the American clergy declared its independence of European interference. It is unfortunate, indeed, for Archbishop Troy's reputation for judgment that among the first whom he was instrumental in sending to the United States, there should be some who turned out so very badly. The Harolds in Philadelphia and Dr. Simon Gallagher in Charleston, S. C., kept the diocese in a ferment during the last ten years of Carroll's life. Their spirit of rebellion and of conduct unbecoming to gentlemen has cast a deplorable shadow over the rest of the clergy who had come from Ireland during these early years of the American hierarchy; and it gave Maréchal the opportunity of saying in his Report to Propaganda (1818):

Hiberni qui spiritu Dei aguntur, et moribus vere ecclesiasticis sunt imbuti, religioni feliciter serviunt. Sunt enim prompti ad laborem, non mediocriter eloquentes, zelo animarum praestantissimi. Lactor valde quidem quod plurimi sunt hujusce generis in mea diocesi; atque certe multos eis similes ambabus ulnis ultro recipere. At vero tot ex Hibernia hic advenerunt sacerdotes, turpi ebrietatis vitio dediti, ut non nisi post maturum examen, curam animarum eis secure committere possumus. Quando enim semel a nobis facultates obtinuerunt, si subinde crapulae indulgeant, dici non potest quantis malis obruant ecclesiam Dei. Neque tunc ullum fere nobis relinquitur remedium quo scandalis finem imponere possimus. . . . Non Americani, non Angli, non aliarum europearum gentium advenae, pacem perturbant aut perturbant, Carolopoli, Norfolkio, Philadelphiae, etc., etc., sed sacerdotes Hiberni, intemperantiae aut ambitioni dediti, una cum contribulibus suis, quod innumeris artibus sibi devinciunt.¹⁷

Archbishop Maréchal felt keenly at this time an accusation made anonymously by some of the Irish clergy that it was his intention to establish a French hierarchy and a clergy entirely French in the United States and to expel all the Irish; but eighteen years before this time, Dr. Carroll was forced to admit to Plowden (March 12, 1800), that "of Irish clergymen, I am afraid, for tho' we are blessed with some worthy and able men from that class, yet many have caused disorders here; and in many parts of the country have excited prejudices against them

¹⁷ *Propaganda Archives, Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, vol. iv, no. 53, printed in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. i, pp. 439-453. Hughes prints those paragraphs of this remarkable document which relate to the Jesuits (*op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part i, pp. 245-246, 500; part ii, pp. 911-914, 957-958, 1049).

very difficult to be removed."¹⁸ Dr. Carroll indeed had every reason to fear grave inconvenience "from the medley of clerical characters coming from different quarters and various educations, and seeking employment here. I cannot avoid employing some of them, and they begin soon to create disturbance."¹⁹ Happily at the very time these unruly characters were disturbing the Church of God here, other priests of Irish origin, such as Dr. Matthew Carr, O.S.A., and Bishop Egan, were creating for themselves and for their race a tradition of the highest zeal and piety.

In the spiritual things in this world "the evil that men do lives after them; the good is oft interred with their bones." The study of the letters extant for this period heightens one's prejudice against the entire body of foreign clergy who found their way into the United States during the whole of Dr. Carroll's episcopate; and yet, we must be willing to admit that among all these priests a goodly number were worthy of their sublime calling. There were many "missionary adventurers,"²⁰ as Dr. Carroll called them; there was a "strolling clerical fraternity," as Charles Plowden, who was not favourably impressed with the thousands of French refugee bishops and priests then in England, called them.²¹ And certainly the memory of the Whelan-Nugent scandal in New York, the Poterie fiasco of Boston, the Holy Trinity schism, and the actions of other unworthy men of the cloth were not inclined to make Dr. Carroll sanguine over those who would be accepted for the American ministry. His dilemma was between the acceptance of men to whom the American Church was

¹⁸ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

¹⁹ HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 668. There is hardly a single Irish priest through whom sorrow in some form did not come during these years of reconstruction. Father Cahill at Hagerstown found it difficult to see how Bishop Carroll could exercise jurisdiction over a parish-priest, as he believed himself to be, and propounded the doctrine that as such he could administer the Sacraments when and where he wished, without Carroll's approbation (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case I-T1-3); Father Bodkin, on whom Carroll was depending for missionary work in western Pennsylvania, resigned without notice and started for New Orleans (*Ibid.*, Case I-T4). Accusations were made against Gallagher at Charleston, S. C., against Busche at Norfolk, and even the two priests mentioned in the text as being exceptions were not allowed to go unattacked. Carr found fault with Egan because he was assuming episcopal powers before his consecration; and Harold was to warn Egan in the days of their conflict—*Noli irritare leonem!* (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11-09.)

²⁰ HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 616.

²¹ WARD, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

a happy-hunting ground, and the neglect of little clusters of Catholics in various parts of the country. On more than one occasion he states emphatically that he preferred to see these outlying congregations suffer for a time rather than to send them priests of whose doctrine and conduct he was uncertain.

No better reflex of the status of the clergy at the time of his consecration could be given than that contained in Father John Ashton's sermon at the close of the Synod in 1791, which will be found in these pages. There was more than a conventional appeal by a priest to priests for the high ideals of the priestly calling in Ashton's words. His paragraphs are so many mirrors in which the status of the clergy can be clearly seen. "We hold the place of angels," he says, "who offer up incense and the prayers of the Saints at the House of God, and like them, this sacrifice should come through pure and unstained hands." The duties of mental and vocal prayer, of zeal for the salvation of souls, and the necessity of a life free from all reproach, are especially emphasized. "From whence it follows that all affectation of worldly vanity in fashion of dress, elegance of furniture and equipage, extravagance and sumptuousness of living, are wholly inconsistent with the character we bear." But it is particularly on clerical scandals that he dwells with insistence; and though none were present whose lives were not in conformity to the strictest ecclesiastical discipline, all realized how necessary his warnings were. These scandals were not as liable to occur after the Synod as before. The secular clergy had met for the first time as a canonical body, and in the resolutions taken by the members of the Synod, we can recognize the beginning of a new era in clerical discipline.

At the time of the consecration of three new bishops (1810), there were among the seventy priests, secular and regular, in the archdiocese, only a few whose conduct gave the hierarchy any concern. As is always the case, the presence of the religious Orders—the Jesuits, the Augustinians, the Dominicans, and even the rambling Trappists, although through them the secular clergy lost some splendid types of priestly zeal and scholarship—made for a higher sacerdotal idealism; and from this period onward, the difficulties or disorders which did arise were so few that Carroll and his successors found it easy to control the disturbers. The

spirit of antagonism evinced by some of the "newcomers" against the old body of the clergy, not only as members of the suppressed Society of Jesus, but especially as co-proprietors of the old ex-Jesuit estates, had long since died away; but it found a successor in the desire for racial distinction within the American Church on the part of some. Gradually, however, the stern exigencies of missionary life in America forced the self-interested, the restless, the disobedient, and the grasping to return to their fatherlands, and the Church here was liberated from their influence. Difficulties arose also over the question of maintenance; and the proceedings of the different Chapters of the Select Body of the Clergy from 1783 down to the end of Dr. Carroll's episcopate, have many resolutions regarding the support of the priests in the missions. Up to the time of the Suppression of the Jesuits (1773), the missionaries being all members of the Society of Jesus, were supported from the funds belonging to the Order. In some cases, particular parishes were supported by incomes derived from particular holdings by the express wish of the donors, but in general all the expenses of the Society as such were paid out of the common fund by the Procurator. At the time of the Suppression, the danger of confiscation seemed imminent, since "every bishop in the world was directed to take provisional possession of all the property, goods, rights, and appurtenances that had belonged to the extinct Society."²² This was not done in the United States, owing to the absence of a bishop for nearly two decades after the Suppression. During that time (1773-1790), the Corporation of the Roman Catholic Clergymen (or the Select Body of the Clergy Incorporated) was established along the lines Dr. Carroll had suggested in his Plan of Organization (1783) at the General Chapter held in 1783. From that time down to the first Synod, every priest in the United States, in good standing, and obedient to the rules of the Select Body, was given support.²³ The College of Georgetown was founded and supported out of the common funds; the Seminary was given certain benefices; and even invalid priests were not forgotten, annuities being granted for their expenses. Special pensions were allotted to missionaries who had extra demands upon their re-

²² HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 605.

²³ For the *Formula of Promise*, cf. HUGHES, *l. c.*, p. 617.

sources. At the Synod of 1791, however, a departure was made, and the old system was changed. Stipends, *honoraria*, and collections at Mass were authorized for the first time in the history of the Church here. These were to be divided according to the ancient usage of the Church: one-third for the support of the clergy of the parish, one-third for the needs of Divine worship and the upkeep of the Church, and one-third for the poor. After the legal incorporation of the clergy (1792), three methods of support prevailed: there were first the revenues accruing from the old Jesuit estates, and these were used in various ways for the good of religion. The two bishops (Carroll and Neale) were members of the Board which regulated the Corporation and by their influence as well as by the express wishes of the members of the Corporation, the whole of the United States benefited by the wise and generous use of the moneys arising from this source. After 1810, these funds were naturally limited, little by little, to the Diocese of Baltimore, but this limitation again was of benefit to the entire American Church, since St. Mary's Seminary and Georgetown College were especially the objects of the Board's administration. There were also the regular collections taken up at Mass and the *honoraria* customary between the clergy and the people. These were regulated all through Dr. Carroll's episcopate and for a long time afterwards by a Board of Trustees chosen by each congregation, and on which the pastor usually sat as chairman. It is from this second financial method of support that much of the trouble in church affairs arose, both in Dr. Carroll's time and for a half-century afterwards. There were also the voluntary gifts of the people. These were of a personal nature and did not fall within any ruling on the part of the church authorities.

Closely united with their maintenance went the discipline of the clergy. The only sanction Dr. Carroll possessed, for example, in dealing with the recalcitrant clergy, was the threat of withdrawing the faculties "by which, according to our articles of ecclesiastical government, they will lose their maintenance."²⁴ This was one of Father John Ashton's particular grievances in his attack on Bishop Carroll (October 11, 1802): "This I think

²⁴ HUGHES, *l. c.*, pp. 687-688.

the defective and rotten part of our Constitution and ought to be altered . . . What! shall it be in the power of a bishop, who gives or takes away faculties at pleasure, to deprive an innocent man of his honour and living!"²⁵ In the meeting of October 4, 1793, of the Select Body of the Clergy, this sanction is defined as follows: "That notorious immoral conduct, grievous, uncanonical disobedience to ecclesiastical authority, habitual neglect of the duties of a clergyman engaged in the care of souls, open opposition and violation of the established regulations of the Select Body of Clergy, shall be sufficient causes for depriving the person or persons guilty of any of them from a share in the administration or profits of the estates secured by law."²⁶ Undoubtedly this regulation would have had considerable weight in controlling clergymen of a fractious disposition, had there not been in existence a system of church finance which removed from the jurisdiction of the Ordinary that complete disposal of his subjects which now prevails in the United States. In the trusteeism of these years clergy and laity met, in some cases to build up, but in many others to break down, the spirit of obedience on the part of the faithful.

One of the truly admirable pages in the history of the American clergy during Carroll's episcopate is that which contains the story of the devotion of the priests to the people of the various cities which were victims of the yellow fever epidemics. Bishop Carroll summarizes that story in a pastoral to the people of Baltimore, on August 26, 1800, when for a third time the plague had fallen upon that city:

It has pleased Divine Providence to visit again the city of Baltimore with that contagious fever, which has swept away heretofore so many of our Brethren and spread desolation thro' many of your families. It is an awful warning to remind us all of the uncertainty of our continuance in this life, and the necessity of being prepared for the coming of the Lord. Its destructive effects have not been confined to particular classes or professions of our fellow citizens. It has raged indiscriminately amongst all; but its malignity has been felt in a more special manner by the ministers of the altar, and those especially, who have been called by their station and connexion with the Laity, committed to their care, to expose themselves continually, in cases and places of the greatest danger, and to the most infectious virulence of the disorder. Since its

²⁵ *Ibid.*, l. c., p. 710.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, l. c., p. 738.

first appearance in the year 1793, the American Church has suffered, by this disease alone, the loss of eight of the most useful, & in every respect, most valuable pastors of souls, besides six or seven others, who contracted the disease and were reduced to the point of death, so that their recovery appears rather a miracle of God's fatherly beneficence than the effect of natural causes. It is not possible for Religion to bear, in its present state in our country, a continuance of such heavy losses. The number of Clergymen is so reduced that many numerous Congregations are deprived of all spiritual assistance. Those in foreign countries, who are disposed to enter into and share in the labour of this vineyard of the Lord, are disheartened and deterred by the deaths, of which they have heard; and there is no prospect before us, but an increase of the evil & a still greater want of shepherds for your souls, if those whom you now have, continue, as heretofore, to run every danger. I am not ignorant that it is the duty of a good pastor to lay down his life for his flock, but if it be foreseen, that by sacrificing himself for the sake of a few, he will leave all, who survive him, without any spiritual assistance, and religion without any public ministry, & that the scarcity of clergymen gives little hopes of any future successor, he then must endeavor to make the best provision he can, for all, in a case of so great extremity, for those, who may be assaulted by the destructive disorder, & for those who outlive it, for the first by affording them an opportunity of settling their consciences, & fortifying themselves, by the Sacraments against the terrors of an unhappy death, and for the others, by a prudent caution, in withdrawing themselves from the most dangerous scenes of infection.

Wherefore, my dear Brethren, as you must be sensible of your perilous situation, and how much you are exposed to contract the disorder now raging in the city, it is incumbent on you, to remember the uncertainty of your lives, & to prepare yourselves for death in the same manner, as you would on your deathbeds. You can now do so with better recollection, with more presence of mind and application, than when labouring under the pains & apprehensions caused by a grievous sickness. If any neglect now to do so they can blame none but themselves, if in the day of disease and approaching death, they be deprived of that charitable assistance, which is offered to them. Your pastor will remain & be ready to give his ministry to all of you, who will recur to it, and will strengthen you in the grace and love of God, & best dispositions to stand before this awful tribunal, by committing your heart to the tribunal of reconciliation, and feeding you with the heavenly manna, as a passage from life to death. After affording sufficient opportunity for all to acquit themselves of this duty, he must be governed by the rules of Christian prudence in preserving himself for the benefit of others; and I, as equally bound to take care of all the faithful diffused over the United States, cannot continue to see Congregations, one after another, stripped of their pastors, and of all opportunities of attending on divine worship, by committing to every hazard of their lives, so many priests in the seaports, to which alone this dreadful visitation has been hitherto

extended. After this public notice, your pastor is instructed to visit only those in their sickness, who have not had opportunities of recurring to him before; & even these are exhorted to repent themselves most sincerely before God, & rather to trust themselves to His adorable mercy, than be perhaps the cause of depriving so many of their Brethren & fellow Christians of any share hereafter in the benefit of a Catholic ministry.

My dear Children in Christ, I feel an ardent desire of being now amongst you, & sharing in all your dangers and anxiety. Nothing withholds me, but the universal voice of all my Brethren in the priesthood, who consider it as improper and almost criminal for me to run into danger, before a Successor in my Episcopacy be consecrated. This was to have taken place on the 8th of next month, the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, the great patroness of this Diocese; but the misfortune of Baltimore causes an unavoidable delay. May heaven in its mercy put a speedy end to that misfortune. Unite your daily prayers for this purpose; and be assured that I offer up my daily supplications in your behalf, and that all blessings here and hereafter may be vouchsafed to you.

✠ J., Bishop of Balt'e.²⁷

City of Washington, Aug. 26, 1800.

The relations between the regular and secular clergy were generally speaking, amicable and fraternal. The rise of the religious Orders for men before 1810 had necessitated a ruling on the share of jurisdiction exercised over them by the bishops and by their own superiors. At the meeting in 1810, the resolution which was passed by the five bishops, summed up the difficulties that had arisen up to that date.²⁸ This synodal article, the authenticity of which has been apparently questioned by the Jesuit historian Hughes,²⁹ formed the basis of the relation between the regular clergy and the bishops down to 1829, and around it some of the inevitable clashes between the seculars and the religious in Carroll's and Maréchal's episcopates centred. Both these prelates had unfortunately to deal with religious superiors who failed to understand the conditions of church life in this country, as was the case with Charles Neale and Grassi. Old World traditions, exemptions, rights, privileges and honours were bound to cause trouble; and it is for that reason, not to mention others, that the American hierarchy in later years followed with much interest the

²⁷ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 10-G1; printed in the *Researches*, vol. ix, pp. 150-152.

²⁸ Cf. GRIFFIN, *Egan*, p. 46.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, l. c., p. 968.

last chronicled stage of this time-worn discussion when Vaughan of Salford fought his chief's fight in the centre of Christendom.

In spite of the difficulties caused by many of those who came from other dioceses to that of Baltimore during Carroll's episcopate, there is a bright and cheerful aspect to the history of the American secular clergy, and that aspect coincides with the story of St. Mary's Seminary, during these years. To know the one is to know the other ; and fortunate indeed it was for the nascent American Church that the ideas of the priestly calling were implanted on the heart of Catholic America by the Congregation of St. Sulpice.

CHAPTER XXXVII
CHURCH DISCIPLINE AND THE LAITY
(1790-1815)

Is it possible to give a complete picture of the Catholic life and action of the laity during the twenty-five years of Carroll's episcopate in the See of Baltimore? Is it possible to separate fact from fancy in the documentary remains that are extant, and describe, as Galliard Hunt has done in his charming *Life in America One Hundred Years Ago*, with the same delightful minuteness of detail all the various aspects of Catholic family life, with its social, political, devotional, literary, and charitable sides clearly brought out from the somewhat cold picture of Carroll's day? Unfortunately, it is not possible. Most of the documentary material at our disposal comes from Dr. Carroll himself or from the priests in the missions, and their minds were preoccupied with the spiritual and disciplinary aspects of the life of their people. The books written by those who were able to appreciate Catholic activities, such as Abbé Robin's *Nouveaux Voyages* and Luigi Castellani's *Viaggio*, are not much concerned with the social or religious activities of the American Catholics at that time. Only in the dry-as-dust reports sent to Propaganda do we find anything for our purpose, and with these sources, truncated as they are, we must needs be content.

The first of these is Dr. Carroll's *Letter and Report of 1785*. The facts contained in these lengthy documents are of two kinds: his own observations on the status of Catholics at that time, and his version of the information which had been sent to him by the priests in the various Catholic centres. It is not improbable that a man of methodic habits in his correspondence, as Carroll was in these earlier years, would outline for his own guidance the topics he wished to touch upon in this first direct communication between the new Republic and Rome. But neither Carroll nor any of the other members of the suppressed Society

seem to have remembered the necessity of handing down to the generations to come an exact, accurate, and complete historical account of the Church in the rising American nation. Even Joseph Mosley, who had a sense of historical detail far above his fellows, stops with the story of his own missionary difficulties and gives us little information about the institutional life of the Catholics in the nation as a whole. It is only long after the older men had passed away, and when he himself was preoccupied with one of the largest and most difficult dioceses in the United States, that Bishop Bruté of Vincennes (1834-1839) projected a work, called *Catholic America*, which, however, never went further than the barest outlines. But even this work, judging by the plan which he has left behind, would not be of much help for our purpose. The general facts of American Catholic history are not indeed of a nugatory value; but it is the inner life of the members of the Church in the United States which we would prefer to see described in these pages. It is the hidden life in Christ, the action of the Spirit of God on the Catholic flocks, the intimate and sacred ties that bound Catholic to Catholic, and laity to clergy, that would mean so much in the personal story of these all-important years before Carroll's death, which should be delineated in all their charm and with all the force of their example for the Catholics of later years. But it is idle to attempt this more elusive aspect of Catholic American history with the documents at our disposal. Only a few high-lights remain to the picture which has already been blurred and partially obscured by artists and amateurs who have attempted to restore the whole canvas. John Grassi's little volume—the first American Catholic history—the *Notizie varie sullo Stato presente della Religione degli Stati Uniti*, though written here, was completed in Italy and published at Milan in 1819.¹ Grassi also is over-influenced by the material facts of our Catholic life at the time; and even these are based on secondary sources. Had we a series of documents, similar to Carroll's *Relatio* of 1785, between that date and Flaget's *Relatio* of 1815,² the task would be easy. Carroll complained more than once that the French ecclesiastics in the country bothered

¹ Cf. PARSONS, *The Catholic Church in America* (1819), in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. vi, pp. 301-310.

² Printed in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. i, pp. 305-319.

him continually with long letters with minute details on problems of church administration; but this faculty never seems to have been used in the larger field of Catholic life and action, social, political and religious. The picture given us, even by such a master hand as that of John Gilmary Shea, is incoherent; for the Catholic laity of the time were assuredly doing more and planning more for God's Church than the movements for independence from church authority with which the documents abound.

If Dr. Carroll's impressions of 1785 are to be followed, then it would appear that the chief problem of his people was the civil disability under which they were living after the close of the Revolution. Carroll wrote two years before the passage of the Federal Constitution (1787), and he contrasts the period previous to the Revolution with the time of which he speaks in his *Relatio* of 1785. Before 1776, Catholics were legally permitted freedom of worship in two States only, Maryland and Pennsylvania—and even in these States were deprived of the franchise. After 1776 Catholics could, unmolested, assemble for Divine worship in any of the Thirteen States. In most places, however, before the adoption of the Constitution, they were not admitted to any office in the States, unless they renounced all foreign jurisdiction, civil and ecclesiastical. In four States, Catholics were admitted to all the rights of citizenship—Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. There were rumours current that the old civil disabilities would be revived when it came to planning a Constitution for the Republic, but Dr. Carroll cherished the hope “that so great a wrong will not be done us.” He knew his priests and people well enough to assert that the greatest evils, even that of persecution, would be borne cheerfully by the Catholics in the United States, rather than a sacrifice be made of their devotion and loyalty to the Holy See. Their whole future before the Government lay in a just and reasonable adjustment of their devotion to the Holy Father, and their duties as citizens of a Republic which had renounced all allegiance to foreign powers and courts. From the framework of public affairs here, he wrote, all foreign jurisdiction will be objectionable to the Americans. He feared that the old hue and cry of “double allegiance,” which has always been the shibboleth of political Protestantism, might be raised in the infant

Republic, to the great detriment of the Church's peace and prosperity; and Dr. Carroll voiced the unanimous desire of the Catholics that "no pretext be given to the enemies of our religion to accuse us of depending unnecessarily on a foreign authority." Some leading Catholic gentlemen who had been and who were then in the Assemblies of Maryland and Pennsylvania, as elected representatives, had approached Dr. Carroll on the advisability of presenting a Memorial to this effect to His Holiness, but he counselled them to wait until he had explained matters to Rome. The ideal system for the Catholics to live under was to provide in every way that both the Faith in its integrity and their solemn duty as citizens be protected. The Holy See was watching the new Republic with a loving eye, and this privilege of electing a bishop was granted in the case of Bishop Carroll, Bishop-elect Graessl, and Bishop Neale, the founders of the American hierarchy. Civil disabilities were not automatically removed in the States by the Federal Constitution of 1787. To those who were elected or chosen to hold office oaths which Catholics could not conscientiously take were administered in some of the States. There was a reluctance in many parts of the country to forfeit old prejudices by admitting Catholics to equality before the law. However the main groups of Catholics lived in States where equality was practiced—Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, and Kentucky; and New York, once the hotbed of bigotry, abolished its own test oath in 1806 to allow Francis Cooper, the first Catholic so elected, to take his seat in the Assembly.

That there had been a serious falling away from the Faith in the families of the first Maryland colonists is evident from Dr. Carroll's admission that only a few of the leading wealthy families had remained faithful to the Church. The greater part of the Catholics outside the cities were planters; and those living in the chief centres of population were merchants or mechanics. The piety of the Catholics at that time (1785) had reached a low ebb. They were for the most part careful not to neglect their spiritual duties, but they lacked fervour. This was due to the fact that many of the congregations heard the Word of God once a month or once every two months. The dearth of priests (there were 24 at the time in Maryland and Pennsylvania) made it difficult to

administer to the faithful. Dr. Carroll drew a sharp contrast between those who were born and reared here and those "who in great numbers are flowing in from different countries of Europe." Many of the native-born Catholics neglected their Easter duties, and "you can scarcely find any among the newcomers who discharge this duty of religion, and there is reason to fear that their example will be very pernicious, especially in the commercial centres." It must be admitted that before the Revolutionary War, the Catholic Church lost many of her children in the thirteen original States. How heavy that loss was can never be known with anything like historical accuracy; but the number of Catholics at this date (1785), 25,000, can only be a minor part of the hundreds of thousands of Catholics who emigrated to the English colonies during the two centuries preceding the Revolution. It is true that those who came from the British Isles experienced here, with very negligible exception, the same unholy persecution against their Faith which had prevailed there from Elizabeth's reign; but there was no open persecution, unless one sees in the hanging of John Ury a vicarious punishment inflicted on the Catholic priesthood. The chief element in the loss must be attributed to the want of churches, to the absence of Catholic education, and to the scarcity of priests. The Catholic Faith was despised and in some cases hated; and without any of those moral supports necessary for the continuance of Catholic life, thousands, perhaps more than thousands, drifted away from the religion of their forefathers. Catholics who settled in the farming regions, far removed from avenues of travel and from easy access to the cities, were gradually lost to the Faith by the dead weight of spiritual inertia. Catholic life can and does flourish in the midst of poverty, even of abject poverty; but its light flickers and dies out in the midst of ignorance. Then, as now, the main hopes of the Church lay in the education of the little ones; and the contrast between the growing numbers of Catholics who came to the United States during Carroll's episcopate (1790-1815), and the scarcity of the schools tells the story too graphically for one to deny the actual status of the Church in those critical years.

American life, moreover, was an uncouth one at the time. It was the pioneer period of the eastern States; and life, while romantic, was devoid to a great extent of those nicer traits of

social intercourse. which make for refinement. Abuses of a moral nature were to be seen in many of the cities and in some cases even more so in the rural sections. There was a laxity in the relationship between the young people of opposite sexes, and Dr. Carroll is forced to confess that Catholics had also allowed their sons and daughters more freedom "than is compatible with chastity in mind and body." There was among his spiritual children "too great fondness for dances and similar amusements, and an incredible eagerness, especially in girls, for reading love-stories which are brought over in great quantities from Europe." The lack of effort on the part of parents in educating their children, and the deplorable moral standards allowed to exist among the Catholic negro slaves, are also mentioned in his *Report* as causes for uneasiness to the pastors of souls. To quote but one witness, we find Father Badin writing to Carroll, from Bardstown, in 1809: "More disorders in all the congregations than we had for several years together before this epoch—quarrels, blasphemies, imprecations, violences, drunkenness even among females, spending days and nights in revelling—the evil must be great indeed . . . the love of pleasure creeps in like a canker and in proportion to its progressing, devotion, retreats, and religious practices dwindle."³ It might be unfair to take the almost unbelievable immorality in Kentucky, as described by Spalding in his *Sketches*, as symptomatic of the entire country; but one thing is certain: the priests were ministering to a rough, and in some cases, a disappointing population. Added to this, was the fact that the Catholics, in equal proportion to their non-Catholic fellow citizens in the Republic, were experiencing the first results of their very successful struggle for self-determination. Keen-sighted observers such as Fenwick the Dominican, and Kohlmann the Jesuit, point out as signs of the times the small number of young men and women who felt a desire for the religious state. Fenwick wrote to Grassi in February, 1815: "What can you do or expect from young harebrained Americans . . . intoxicated with the sound of liberty and equality;"⁴ and Bishop Carroll notes, in 1811, that "the American youth have an almost in-

³ Badin to Carroll, November 4, 1808, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case I-H7.

⁴ HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 835.

vincible repugnance to the ecclesiastical state." ⁵ Shall we admit that it was only after the Catholic boy in the United States had become leavened with the fervour and devotion of the sons of Patrick and of Boniface that real Catholic life saw its rise here in America? There was also the national or racial problem in the lay body with which the leaders were obliged to deal. The racial problem never troubled the authorities of the American Church. Catholicism is always one—one in spirit, one in truth, one in doctrine, and in discipline; and the racial antagonisms which appeared at the very outset of our national Catholic life were of such a nature that the best healer of all—time—would eventually settle them. The national problem had then, as ever, two aspects: one which regarded it from within; the other, which regarded it from without. There was danger of disagreement between Baltimore and Rome, although at length both saw the problem in the same light. America, to be America, to admit what was even then apparent to all, could not be made up of juxtaposed little nations. America, to follow the providential guidance which had been bestowed upon its great leaders, should become one nation, made up of peoples speaking the same tongue, enjoying the same privileges, and living for the same purpose: the glory and the prestige of the new Republic. The Church in America, to fulfil to the utmost its destiny as the most compact religious body in the nation, should be American in its appeal and American in its sentiments and its spirit. How well John Carroll guided the Bark of Peter in this land during these days when so much was inchoate and insecure, is his greatest monument. There may have been moments when, to the minds of superiors, especially those of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, this national spirit appeared to be approaching a clash with the universality of the Church's polity. There were moments when the superiors of the Church in America lost patience and showed it, at the conservatism of the central authority and at its apparent inability to see the American Church nationally, and not as an appanage of any one European Church. But these were only fugitive misunderstandings, and from Antonelli's day down to our own time, Rome and the official Ministries of the Roman Court

⁵ BAYLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

have never been out of sympathy with American idealism. The problem then, as now, was the line of demarcation between the spiritual and the temporal. It was not a question of the Church and State with all its thorny by-paths, but solely a question of administration. And it is significant to note that in the first conflicts which arose, the cause was not the inability of our spiritual chiefs across the seas to understand our singular situation in the midst of republican institutions, but sheer inability on the part of some American Catholic laymen to recognize the limits of their own privileges within the fold. The Catholic Church during Carroll's episcopate was indeed a *pusillus grex* in the ever-broadening acres of the young Republic. Its influence as a human agent in the moral and social uplift of the people was a very weak one. Higher education and scholarship were not prized by the Americans of that day, and although the most educated gentlemen of the day were the sons of wealthy Catholic planters who had studied at Liège, Bruges, and Paris, their social impress upon the times was a faint one. They could not mingle with their fellow citizens with that feeling of equality which begets social and intellectual intercourse. One source of influence there was which might be good, bad, or indifferent as the person in question realized the obligation of his or her Faith: and that was mixed marriages. There is no mention of this problem, which has always been a serious one in the canonical legislation of the Church, in Dr. Carroll's *Report* of 1785; but after that time there is scarcely a letter to Rome which does not ask for a stipulated number of dispensations for mixed marriages, and every report to Rome contains the note of fear on this score.

Between this *Report* and that of April 23, 1792, giving an account of the Synod of 1791, Dr. Carroll was busy visiting his vast diocese and learning at close range the good and the bad influences at work among his people. There is no doubt that the twenty-two priests who gathered at Baltimore in November, 1791—some to see Bishop Carroll for the first time—came prepared with reports on the condition of Catholic life and activity in their districts. Not all their proceedings were put into writing; and less, even, was printed than might be expected from so important an assembly. The administration of the Sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation, Holy Eucharist, Penance, Extreme

Unction, and Matrimony, was discussed; and certain definite regulations laid down for the uniformity of discipline throughout the diocese. But in none of the printed Statutes of the Synod do we find explicit statements as to the condition of Catholic life in the country at that time. In his *Report* of April 23, 1792, Dr. Carroll merely outlines the purpose of the first National Council: to regulate the governance of the diocese and the discipline of the clergy; and to bring about uniformity of ritual in this country. The most emphatic part of the printed *Statuta* has to deal with the maintenance of the clergy. When the Synod was closed, however, Dr. Carroll issued a short Pastoral to the Faithful on Christian Marriage, and the principal point dealt with in this circular letter was the fact that all Catholic marriages were to take place in the presence of the priest. "It is judged necessary to say this, because lately some of the congregation have been so regardless of their duty in this respect as to recur to the ministry of those whom the Catholic Church never honored with the commission of administering marriages." All those who had been guilty of this violation of church law were to be refused absolution until "they shall agree to make public acknowledgment of their disobedience before the assembled congregation, and beg pardon for the scandal they have given." This severe punishment was the general rule during Dr. Carroll's episcopate, and indeed it survives in some places almost down to the present day; for there are Catholics living to-day who can remember such scenes of reconciliation taking place in the Church on Sunday mornings before or after Holy Mass. As an example of the spirit which animated Dr. Carroll in his relations with the laity, we cannot do better than reproduce his Lenten Pastoral of 1792:

JOHN

By Divine Permission and with the approbation of the Holy See,
Bishop of Baltimore

To my dearly beloved Brethren, the Faithful of my Diocese, Health and the Blessing of Our Lord:

The approaching season of our solemn yearly Lent revives, dear Brethren, the remembrance of that solicitude, which has been always expressed by the Church for its due and faithful observance. Consecrated as this great Fast is, by the example of our Blessed Redeemer: instituted by His Apostles, and continued thro' so many ages, in the Catholic Church, it has acquired a most venerable authority, which renders it incumbent

on the Pastors of Christ's flock to be ever watchful for the preservation of so sacred a point of ecclesiastical discipline; and on you my Brethren, to observe punctually the rules of rigid temperance and self denial prescribed during its continuance. The primitive and most eminent Fathers admonish us to look on this Fast, as a penitential remedy against our daily transgressions, and one of the most effectual means by which, becoming imitators of Jesus Christ, we may come likewise to a fellowship of his sufferings and be made conformable to his death.—Phil. III. 10. For Christ crucified is the great example, to which it behoves us to turn our eyes, especially in these days of public penitence. He spent His life in fasting, in suffering, in self-denials; and thus He entered into glory; nor must we expect to obtain it on any other terms. Christ, says the Apostle St. Peter, suffered for us, leaving you an example, that you should follow his steps.—I Peter, II. 21; In which words we are admonished not only to submit patiently to the hardships, and afflictions which happen by divine permission, but likewise to take up the Cross, and lay it on ourselves. It must not be enough for the true Christian to be led in the steps of Christ, but we must follow them.

This voluntary mortification and self-denial is essential to the character of a disciple of our crucified Lord and Master. If any man, says He, will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow Me.—Matthew, XVI. 24. This is a duty of all times and seasons; for our Lord says elsewhere—if any man will come after Me, let him take up his cross daily.—Luke IX. 23. But in these days of Lent, more especially, we are commanded to use a severity of discipline over ourselves; and this for many important reasons; 1st. Because the Church governed by the wisdom of its Author and Head, Jesus Christ, knows that many of Her Children would neglect and disregard all self-mortification, unless a certain time and manner for the exercise of it were more particularly enjoined; 2ndly. Because religious fasting disposes our souls to conceive lively sentiments of compunction, suitable to the anniversary commemoration, which happens in the last days of Lent, of Christ's sufferings and death for us; 3rdly. That we may be excited to receive worthily at Easter, with the forgiveness of sin, and with the grace to amend our lives, the adorable Body and Blood of Jesus Christ in his sacrament of Love.

Wherefore, my dear Brethren, enter on this yearly Fast with a fixed purpose both of fasting, and of attending the exercises of Piety and Religion, without which it will not be available to your salvation. Our heavenly Master teaches us, that some disorders of the soul, some devils, cannot be cast out but in prayer and fasting.—Mark IX. 28. To whom of us then are not both of these necessary, in order to subdue our domestic enemies, the passions, which transport and seduce us? Be watchful over your irregular appetites, let not your sensuality, or the examples of others, withdraw you from the obedience due to the venerable authority, from which the ordinance of Lent is derived. Let not every trivial inconvenience be deemed a sufficient cause of dispensation

from a law, having for its authors the Apostles of Christ; and made sacred by its perpetuity through all ages and nations of Christendom. "There is no land," says a very ancient and Holy Doctor of the Church, "no continent, no city, no nation—in which this fast is not proclaimed. Armies, travellers, sailors, merchants, though far from home, everywhere hear the solemn promulgation, and receive it with joy."—S. Basil, *Hom. On Fasting*. In those times, the discipline of keeping lent was not only generally received, but much more rigorous, than at present; not that Christians had more sins to expiate, or stood more in need of appeasing the wrath of God; but because they meditated oftener on the truths of the gospel and felt a greater anxiety to appease God's offended justice. Be you also alarmed by the same thought (1 Peter IV.), dear Brethren, and observe with punctuality the measure of fasting, which is prescribed; so as to transgress neither in the quantity or quality of your meals.

To this act of self-denial, join other means of appeasing God's anger and drawing blessings on yourselves, on the whole Church, and on mankind. Besides greater assiduity in fervent prayer, both public and private; in serious and frequent meditation on the momentous truths of religion; in reading those books which will strengthen you in the principles of faith and habits of virtue; fail not moreover to perform some works of charity; and relieve distress according to the ability given you by Almighty God and wherever you find objects needing your benevolence. Without charity, fasting is in vain. Now, says the Apostle, he that has the substance of this world, and shall see his brother in need, and shall shut up his bowels from him, how doth the charity of God abide in him?—1 John, III. 15. Wherefore, that this season of Lent may be to every one of you an acceptable time, a day of salvation, 2 Cor. VI, 6, 2, as I certainly beseech the Father of Mercies that it may, let it be attended with all those exercises of religion, and virtues, which I have now recommended. Be mindful of the advice of the Prince of the Apostles, so that the fruit of your fasting be such as he expresses it in the following words: Christ having suffered in the flesh, hath ceased from sins, that now we may live the rest of this time in the flesh, not after the desires of men, but according to the will of God; For the time past is sufficient for them to have walked in riotousness, lusts, excess of wine, revellings, banquetting.—1 Peter IV. I.

My dear Brethren, have not these irregularities been the employment of your former years? Were they not devoted to forbidden and shameful pleasures, to gross intemperance, and to the interests only of this world? Ah! let those unhappy years suffice for iniquity; let this Lent be the ceasing of sin, and the beginning of a life of perfect obedience to the law of God! O Lord, grant this blessing to thy people, grant this consolation to him, whom thou hast made accountable for their souls!

Having reminded you, my dear Brethren, of the respect, with which you ought to submit to the commandments of the Church for the observ-

ance of Lent; and exhorted you to the practice of those virtues, which will render your fasting profitable; it remains for me to inform you, in what that fasting consists, which is prescribed at this time of public penance. They who are acquainted with the rigorous discipline formerly observed, or even with that which is still used by many Christian nations, will find a great mitigation in favor of this Diocese. Necessity compels the mitigation on the first settlement of our country, and hitherto it has not seemed advisable to restrain it. Wherefore all are to conform themselves to the following regulations if they wish to comply with their duty of keeping Lent. Persons of a competent age, that is who have completed their twenty-first year, and who, for special reasons are not dispensed from the common obligation, are 1st, to abstain from flesh meat during the whole Lent, unless the Pastors of the Church should see a just and reasonable cause to make an exception of certain days, as will be mentioned hereafter. Necessity and custom have authorized amongst us the usage of hog's lard instead of butter in preparing fish, vegetables, &c. 2dly. They are only to take one meal each day excepting Sundays. 3dly. The meal allowed on fast days is not to be taken till towards noon. 4thly. At this meal, if on any days permissions should be granted for eating flesh, both flesh and fish are not to be used at the same time. 5thly. A small refreshment, commonly called collation is allowed in the evening. No general rule, as to the quantity of food, at this time is, or can be made. But the practice of the most regular Christians is never to let it exceed the fourth part of an ordinary supper. 6thly. The quality of food allowed at a collation is, in this Diocese, bread, butter, cheese, all kinds of fruit, salads, vegetables, and fish, though not warm, but fish previously prepared, and grown cold. Milk, eggs, and flesh meat are prohibited. 7thly. General usage has made it lawful to drink in the morning some warm liquid, as tea, coffee, or thin chocolate, made with water, to which a few drops of milk may be added, serving rather to colour the liquids, than make them substantial food. 8thly. The following persons are exempted from the obligation of fasting: young persons under twenty-one years of age; the sick, pregnant women, or giving suck to infants; they who are obliged to hard labour; all who, through weakness cannot fast without great prejudice.

Such, my dear Brethren, are the rules by which you are to be governed in your fasts; and which I trust, you will religiously follow, so that your example may not contribute to introduce any further relaxation in the venerable discipline of the Church. It is indeed more particularly, the duty of Pastors to watch over its preservation; but they are likewise bound to moderate its severity on just and necessary occasions; estimating on one hand the usefulness and sanctity of the institution of Lent; and on the other, the ability of the faithful, and their means of providing substitutes for the nourishment prohibited during it, by the general law of the Church.

Wherefore, having taken all these things into my serious consideration, and consulted many of my Reverend Brethren in different parts of my

Diocese; I hereby make known that during the ensuing Lent, I grant permission to all the faithful to eat meat once on each of the following days, that is on the first Sunday in Lent, and all other Sundays, except Palm Sunday; and on every Saturday, except during the first and last week of Lent. With respect to every other duty, which has been recommended for this time of penance and public atonement, I confide, and pray that you may redouble your solicitude to perform them, I beseech you, Brethren, by the mercy of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, pleasing to God, your reasonable service: And be not conformed to this world: but be ye reformed in the newness of your mind; that you may prove what is the good and the acceptable, and the perfect will of God.—Romans XII. 1, 2.

The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.⁶

The same year (May 28, 1792), Bishop Carroll published the Pastoral to the Catholic laity making known to them the rules adopted by the Synod.⁷ This Pastoral explains much that is implied in the *Statuta*, and emphasis is placed upon the necessity of a proper Catholic education of the young. The attention of the Faithful was called to Georgetown College and to the Seminary, both of which had just been founded, and the support of the priests in their ministry is also urged. Many churches were without chalices, without the decent and necessary furniture for the altars, without a proper supply of vestments and altar linens. Moreover, there were congregations, rich enough to support a resident priest, where Mass was celebrated but once a month, and these were urged to call meetings at once for the purpose of arranging maintenance for a pastor. There was a spirit of indifference, especially among the native-born, towards permanency of Catholic worship.⁸

Twenty years, however, were to pass before a National Council was to meet. In 1810, after the consecration of his suffragans, there was nothing more, as we have seen, than an informal series of meetings between Archbishop Carroll, his coadjutor Neale, and the three new bishops, Cheverus, Egan and Flaget. Again, the subjects discussed give us scarcely any glimpse beneath the surface of Catholic life. The administration of the Sacrament of Marriage had always caused trouble, and the bishops felt that

⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 10-J1; printed in the *Researches*, vol. ix, pp. 133-137.

⁷ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11-H6; cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 400-401.

⁸ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11-G6; cf. BRENT, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

it would take time before their flocks would be ready to accept a general rule for its celebration. We have the key to this difficulty in one of Dr. Carroll's letters to Plowden (Feb. 12, 1803):

Here our Catholics are so mixed with Protestants in all the intercourse of civil society and business public and private, that the abuse of inter-marriages is almost universal and it surpasses my ability to devise any effectual bar against it. No general prohibition can be exacted without reducing many of the faithful to live in a state of celibacy, and in sundry places there would be no choice for them of Catholic matches; and tho' sometimes, good consequences follow these marriages, yet, often thro' the discordancy of the religious sentiments of parents, their children grow up without attachment to any, and become an easy prey to infidelity or indifferentism, if you will allow the word.⁹

The fourth of these regulations, which has already been cited, gives us a closer insight into the life of the people at this period since it is in fact a résumé of the abuses which had crept into the fold:

The Pastors of the faithful are earnestly directed to discourage more and more from the pulpit, and in their public and private conferences an attachment to entertainments and diversions of a dangerous tendency to morality, such as to frequent theatres, and cherish a fondness for dancing assemblies. They likewise must often warn their congregations against the reading of books dangerous to faith and morals and especially a promiscuous reading of all kinds of novels. The faithful themselves should always remember the severity with which the Church, guided by the Holy Ghost, constantly prohibited writings calculated to diminish the respect due to our Holy Religion.¹⁰

A last resolution placed the ban of the Church on all Catholics known to be Freemasons. To those who are aware that, two years previous to this ban on the Freemasons, the Ursuline Nuns of Nantes wrought a beautiful Masonic apron of satin, with gold and silver mountings, for George Washington, this regulation will appear curious. From the year 1735 down to the end of the century, Freemasonry was prohibited by many of the European Governments: Holland (1735), Sweden (1738), Bavaria (1784), and Austria (1795). The earliest papal pronouncements against Freemasonry were those by Clement XII

⁹ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

¹⁰ Cited by GRIFFIN, *Egan*, p. 45.

(1738), and Benedict XV (1751). The condemnation of the lodges by Pope Clement left no freedom to Catholics in the matter, and since that time Catholics becoming members of the Masonic societies are excommunicated. In Carroll's day there seems to have been some doubt whether the Clementine order bound the Church universally, and even in our own times there are some misgivings on this point, since in certain parts of the American continent, the two ideals—Catholic and Masonic—are not considered incompatible.¹¹ The situation in Bishop Carroll's life time is given to us in his letter to a layman, dated Baltimore, January 7, 1794:

Your favour of September 25, 1793, would have been answered by the return of the bearer, had I not been prevented by uninterrupted occupation in the morning, subsequent to its delivery.

Severe and heavy censures, even that of excommunication, have been denounced by two successive Popes against all persons who continue in or join the Society and frequent the lodges of Free Masons, and the reason alleged is that their meetings are (found by experience) to be destructive to morality, and to diminish very much the habit of religious exercises. I do not pretend that these decrees are received generally by the Church, or have full authority in this diocese; but they ought to be a very serious warning to all good Christians not to expose themselves to dangers which the Supreme head of the Church has judged to be so contagious. I myself likewise, have been well informed by those who have retired from the meetings of the Free Masons that their principal inducement was to shun the dangers of immorality which attended those meetings. They did not accuse the institution of masonry as having immorality for its object, but they assured me that intemperate drinking, obscene conversation, and indelicate songs, to say nothing of other vices, were almost always the consequence of holding a lodge; and that there were ceremonies not very consistent with decency practiced on certain occasions. Besides these general reasons, I have heard often that the most improper meetings of all were those which are held in the small country villages, or at solitary taverns; that in general, they were rendezvous for intemperance and the vices which follow it. Now the knowledge of these things may have been the inducement with Mr. Boarman for deciding on your case, and if he really knew that you exposed yourself without necessity, to the above dangers, he cannot be blamed for his conduct.

However that may be, allow me, your pastor, to recommend to you and others of our Church to live mindful of the advice of the apostle, work your salvation with fear and trembling, and therefore not to trust

¹¹ Cf. *Researches*, vol. xxv, pp. 30-31.

to yourselves so far as to mix in societies which the first pastors and the most eminent prelates of the Church have deemed to be hurtful to piety and religion. It is alleged, I know, by friends of this institution that it is directed to most humane and benevolent purposes, and from their concurrent testimony I have no doubt but that some objects of this nature are contemplated by it; but it ought not to be enough for a Christian that good may result from it; he should likewise have well grounded reasons to fear that by becoming a member he will not be led himself nor be the cause of leading others into vicious dissipation.

Such, Sir, is the opinion, which after much dispassionate and anxious inquiry and much observation I have formed of freemasonry. I therefore conclude with earnestly advising you and every other member of our Church to avoid forming or continuing any connection with it.¹²

During these last five years of Dr. Carroll's episcopate, the evolution of church discipline in this country reached one of its most serious phases, that of open rebellion led by some of the laity in the larger cities against the most essential part of all canonical legislation—the spiritual authority of the bishop over the pastorates within his diocese. This rebellion is known in American Catholic annals as the Trustee System. The right to administer ecclesiastical property belongs to the Church. This right can be delegated to others, cleric or lay, as accessory administrators responsible to her for their management of such property.¹³ Their deputies are known as *church wardens*, *sidesmen*, *fabrica*, *fabrique de l'église*, or as *trustees*. From the very earliest times the revenues of the Church were divided in three parts, for the support of the clergy, for the poor, and for the upkeep of the church itself. That part of the revenues set aside for the upkeep of the church itself was called the *fabric* of the church, and in one form or another down the centuries, the Church has allowed those who contributed to this a certain amount of responsibility in the distribution of such funds. This system was universal in the Church down to the sixteenth century and was recognized by the Council of Trent. In almost all Catholic countries today the old system of the *fabrique de l'église* still prevails. From the time of the Reformation the system died out among the Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland,

¹² *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Letter-Books*, vol. i, p. 209; printed in the *Researches*, vol. xxv, pp. 55-56.

¹³ Cf. TAUNTON, *The Law of the Church*, pp. 337-338. London, 1906.

and it has not been in general usage in these countries since that time. In the United States, lay trustees are found at the very beginning of the organized Church, and the system of trustees has prevailed down to the present; it has been recognized by the Plenary Councils, particularly by the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. The Board of Trustees is composed of the Pastor as Chairman or President, and by a certain number of priests and laymen elected by the congregation. In no way are these laymen empowered to interfere in or to direct the spiritual rights of the pastor on the religious life of the people. It required a goodly number of years to bring about a proper adjustment of the relations between the lay trustees as representing the majority, at least, of the congregation, and the pastors of the parishes, representing the bishops of the dioceses. Practically speaking, all the dissensions which arose in the system during Dr. Carroll's episcopate (1790-1815) came from the presumption on the part of certain trustees in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk and Charleston, S. C., that the trustees exercised the old *jus patronatus*. Patronage has also existed in the Church from time immemorial. It is a quasi-contract between the Church and a benefactor, whereby among other privileges the latter has the legally granted right of presenting the name of a suitable person to the vacant benefice or living. During the Middle Ages, this right was exercised, even to excess, by lay patrons, especially in Germany, and these excesses led to various regulations which confined the spiritual side of the patronage to the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical superiors. In the old canon law patronage was acquired in any one of three ways—the *dos*, *aedificatio*, or *fundus*. By *fundus* is meant the land on which the church stands; by *aedificatio*, the building of the church itself; and by *dos*, the endowment for the upkeep of the church. These three ways of acquiring the *jus patronatus* do not, however, give one the right *ipso facto*. Such a right must be acknowledged by ecclesiastical authority before it has a legally binding canonical effect. Moreover, the right of presentation even in the time when patronage was widely exercised to the detriment of ecclesiastical unity, was never accepted by the Church as a *congé d'élire*, or the lack of choice in the appointment. This, in brief, was the heart of the controversy which

disturbed the peace of the Church in the United States down to the time of Archbishop Hughes. In Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk and Charleston, the point in dispute was whether the power of choosing the pastor lay with the congregation, which had indeed bought the land, built the church, and which assured the pastor of support; or with the bishop. Archbishop Carroll contended, as did his successor, Archbishop Neale, that to claim such a right on the part of the laity by these congregations was a pretension, since they were not patrons according to the definition of the Council of Trent. Patronage involved a recognized canonical right, and in the United States no one had the right to appoint or remove a priest except the bishop of the diocese. Moreover, the American bishops had the power of removing priests at will, since parishes in the strict canonical sense did not exist in this country. In most cases where the lay trustees came in conflict with the bishops of these early days, a priest was their leader; but in his contest with the trustees of New York City and of Norfolk, Carroll found laymen leading the rebellion. The chief document on the pernicious trustee system, for the period under study is Bishop Carroll's *Pastoral Letter to the Congregation of Holy Trinity Church, Philadelphia*, dated February 22, 1797, which has already been quoted at length in these pages. It was when the "intruder (priest) received from the Trustees a pretended appointment to the pastoral office; that is, the power of loosening and binding; of administering the Holy Eucharist to the Faithful of God's Church; of teaching and preaching, and performing all those duties, which, being in their nature entirely spiritual, can never be within the jurisdiction of, or subject to the dispensation of the laity," that Bishop Carroll decided it was time, for the future as well as for the present, to call a halt to such proceedings. Dr. Carroll says also that he was not surprised to hear "that the turbulent men, who foment the present disturbance, have declared themselves independent of Christ's Vicar, as of a *foreign jurisdiction*." This appeal to a stock objection of those who do not belong to the Church showed, says Carroll, the desire on the part of the turbulent clergy and their abettors, to make the good name of the Church odious in this country. After explaining to them the distinction between their allegiance to the Government of the United States

and their spiritual dependence on the Holy See, Carroll exhorted them all to unite together in prayer that these schisms pass away quickly. Bishop Carroll realized the danger of the tenets held by the recalcitrant trustees from the very beginning of these "stirs," namely that in New York City in 1786. "If ever the principles there laid down," he wrote to the trustees of St. Peter's, "should become predominant, the unity and catholicity of our Church would be at an end . . . the great source of misconception in this matter is that an idea appears to be taken by you . . . that the officiating clergyman at New York is a parish priest, whereas there is yet no such office in the United States." These ideas prevailed, however, for we have seen them guiding the trustees of Holy Trinity Church in 1797, the trustees of St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia, during Bishop Egan's episcopate (1810-1814), and especially in Norfolk and in Charleston, S. C., in which last city the eloquent Irish priest, Dr. Simon Gallagher, used the trustees in order to retain his pastorate, long after Bishop Carroll had removed him for conduct unbecoming a gentleman and a priest. How vital the conflict had become in the life of the Church here is evident from the fact that Dr. Gallagher and the Augustinian Browne carried their case to Rome and won a decision against Archbishop Carroll. "The coarse and rude way they [Propaganda] have treated me," writes Archbishop Neale, "in favor of Messrs. Gallagher and Browne, both notoriously refractory, plainly shows, unless effectual opposition be made in the present instance, our authority by the government of the unruly will be reduced to inanity."¹⁴ During Dr. Carroll's episcopate the Church came out the victor in all these contests except in that with Simon Gallagher; but even that was soon decided in favour of Archbishop Neale, when the true facts of the case were given. The trustee trouble needs very delicate treatment, if one is to do justice to all parties concerned. Many of these laymen believed that they were upholding the just rights of the parish, against one who, not being one of their own—for to the Germans Dr. Carroll was Irish; to the Irish, he was English, or at least pro-French; to the secular clergy, he was an ex-Jesuit; and to the partially restored

¹⁴ Cited by HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part i, p. 302, note 50.

Society of Jesus, he was looked upon as an uncertainty in the efforts they were making for full canonical revival—could not understand their feelings in matters which touched them so deeply. Sacerdotal leaders like the Harolds, the Heilbrons, Goetz, Elling, and Gallagher did much harm by imparting to their followers a mistaken idea of the canonical side of the dispute; and others, both laymen and priests, who were imbued with Jansenist or Gallican tenets, added their influence to the confusion of the times. And, as it is almost always the case in disputes that find their origin in a difference of theological opinion when once a stand was taken by certain bodies of trustees in the country, it was very difficult to bring them back to unity and harmony.¹⁵ The losses caused by the trustee scandals were meagre in comparison to the rapid growth of the Church during these last years of Dr. Carroll's life. Moreover, the power of the bishops was strengthened instead of lessened; the prestige of the clergy was upheld; and the loyalty of the faithful who had not participated in these "stirs" in the early American Church proved a strong incentive for piety and generosity to the weak and faltering.

We have no document from John Carroll's hands in which to read and judge the condition of the religious life of the laity at the time of his death. But certain sources exist, written within three years of that date, from which a summary may be taken. The first of these is Grassi's *Notizie Varie*, which has been cited above. This little work is an Old-World interpretation of the progress made up to that time in the New, and while its main value is statistical, Father Grassi, who occupied the Presidency of Georgetown College (1812-1817), was unquestionably well-placed for keen observation and analysis of the lights and shadows in the American Church at that time. A second and far more important source than Grassi's popular account is Archbishop Maréchal's *Report to Propaganda on the State of Religion in the Archdiocese of Baltimore* (October 16, 1818).¹⁶ This document is the most accurate of all we possess for this period of American Catholi-

¹⁵ Cf. *The Evils of Trusteeism*, article by TREACY in the *Historical Records and Studies*, vol. viii, pp. 136-156.

¹⁶ Printed in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. i, pp. 439-453.

cism. A great change was visible by that date in the attitude of Protestants in general towards the Catholic Church. The prejudices which kept so many in Dr. Carroll's day from appreciating her properly were vanishing slowly but surely, and Protestant ministers were not expected by their flocks to calumniate the Catholic Faith in their sermons. On Sundays, the Catholic churches in the cities were frequented by many non-Catholics, attracted by the beauty of the ritual or by the singing; conversions were becoming more numerous; and beyond all other aspects the rapid growth of the Catholic Church in the United States was talked of by everyone. Maréchal notes as the principal abuses in the American life of the times—inebriety and the desire for money. It is incredible, he says, how avid all Americans are to hear sermons. He praises their lightheartedness, their love for argumentation, and their skill in trades and avocations. He lauds the modesty of American womanhood, but he sees danger in their love of dress, which is carried to such a pitch that it would be hard to distinguish a cobbler's daughter from a French countess. The young girls are much addicted to the reading of novels, to the theatre, and to dancing. He described the book-stores of the day, with their shelves filled with promiscuous reading, many of the books being inimical to faith and good morals. There were, he claims, more newspapers in the State of Maryland alone than in Italy and France together. The situation of the Church at large, the priests, their congregations, and their trials, are all well described, and of the difficulties which were his legacy from his two predecessors, Archbishops Carroll and Neale, he gives the following as the principal ones: (1) the insufficient number of priests; (2) the inability of many young men to pay for their education towards the priesthood; (3) the schisms which arose in Dr. Carroll's day and which still existed in some places.

Maréchal sums up the whole case in a word when he says that the chief cause of these schisms arose from the fact that the American people were enjoying a civil liberty to which they held *amore ardentissimo*. The methods of church government which prevailed among the Protestant churches appealed very forcibly to the Catholics, but side-by-side with the desire to emulate their non-Catholic friends, Maréchal places, as a causal quantity of

the highest power, the desire of unworthy priests to rule the flocks entrusted to them without the restraining hand of authority which never allowed them to forget their responsibility for the souls of the faithful. Dr. Carroll had allowed the trustee system, says Maréchal, because he believed that it would effect a compact parochial organization in each centre of population. But so many dissensions and schisms grew out of the system that before he died, he told Neale he regretted the day he had given his consent, even implicitly to the *marguilliers*. We have yet, however, to be given an impartial history of trusteeism in Carroll's time. The whole question must be treated from another angle from that usually taken, namely, the presence of presumptuous, arrogant, and turbulent lay-folks in the congregations where the evil arose.

But these difficulties were all surmountable, for the foundations of the Church had been laid well and deep by John Carroll. He it was who gave form and substance to the discipline of the Church during the twenty-five years of his episcopate; and, as the evening of his long and active life drew to an end, he was able to gaze over the entire expanse of the great country of which he was the Catholic shepherd, and see the signs of the harvest of souls his successors were to reap in the days to come. He left in his vast archdiocese a laity increased over fourfold, a clergy more than doubled. There were three Seminaries for the training of ecclesiastics, three Colleges for the higher education of young men, and two Academies for young girls; there were three convents wherein women could consecrate their lives to religion and to the betterment of humanity; and there were three religious Orders for men. These are his greatest works. Who shall tell of his influence not alone upon his fellow-citizens of other faiths, but more particularly upon the rising generations of Catholic men and women who were proud to call their Father one whom the entire country respected and revered? For the Catholic laity, for their increase in piety and in devotion, their allegiance to both Church and State, their knowledge of their Faith and of its practices, he spared no pains during his long episcopate. If needs there were in the Catholic organization of the land at the time of his death, even for these, and especially the one he recognized more clearly than any of

his generation, he pointed out the signs, which his successors were to follow. Possibly, if it had entered his mind to lament any deficiencies in the Church he had organized and brought to a state of remarkable perfection, he would have regretted two—the lack of more educational facilities for the young and the want of charitable institutions for the care of the sick, the aged, the orphan and the unfortunate.

CHAPTER XXXVIII
EDUCATIONAL AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS
(1790-1815)

The Life of Archbishop Carroll would be incomplete without a chapter devoted to the educational efforts made by the Church in this country during the twenty-five years of his episcopate. But to trace, even slightly, the growth of primary and secondary education at this period is a task which by no means promises success. The first united action of the bishops of the United States in the matter of education was made at the first Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1829, when Archbishop Whitfield, the third successor of John Carroll in the See of Baltimore (1828-1834), with Bishops Flaget, S.S., of Bardstown, Bishop Benedict Fenwick, S.J., of Boston, Bishop Edward Fenwick, O.P., of Cincinnati, Bishop England of Charleston, and Bishop Rosati, C.M., of St. Louis, met for the purpose of creating a more efficient ecclesiastical organization in the land. It was at this Council, the first of its kind in the United States, that the law was enacted which has since been the norm of church discipline in the matter of education, namely, the establishment of a parochial school in each parish. Before this time, the Synod of 1791 and the informal meeting of 1810 are the only assemblies of a conciliar nature; and the conditions prevailing in Catholic life during that epoch (1790-1829) and more especially during Carroll's time hardly warranted placing the burden of a parochial school system upon the priests and laity.

That education for the young was a subject dear to the hearts of all the clergy from the very beginning of organized Catholic life in the new Republic needs no proof. The efforts made in every centre where Catholics had formed themselves into parishes are so numerous, in proportion to the number of congregations and priests, that the general Catholic interest in primary and secondary schools is granted by all. Before the foundation

of Georgetown College in 1789, there was no successful Catholic school for secondary training; and of elementary or parochial schools before the American Revolution we know hardly anything, since "exceedingly little has come down to us about the academic side of these early schools."¹ The reason is apparent to all who are cognizant of the social and political status of Catholics in the English colonies. The century and a half preceding the victory of Yorktown was an epoch of life-in-the-catacombs for the Catholics in the future Republic. This fact has been repeated so often in these pages, that it need not be emphasized. Ignored socially, crushed by iniquitous laws, persecuted by ingenious methods which came to life in Elizabeth's reign, Catholics living under the British flag found it to their advantage to hide from those who would rob them of their Faith. From all the professions, in the army, the navy, in the skilled crafts and in places of political preferment, Catholics had been eliminated completely. The freedom which came to the American Catholics under the Federal Constitution of 1787 came also to English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics at the very time the First Provincial Council of Baltimore was holding its sessions, in 1829. It is this element of crypto-Catholicism in the English colonies which must be known and appreciated, if in a subject so essential to Catholic life as the education of the little ones, we hope to understand the absence of elementary school training in the days before the Republic was thoroughly organized. The historian of the American Church, therefore, finds only a blank wall of silence when he questions these early years for the facts of its educational origins. The reasons are apparent. Catholics did not write much about their methods of education. Prejudice was still a vital factor in the social and civic life about them; for, though in leaving England, Ireland and Scotland, Catholics felt they were freeing themselves and their children from the incubus of hatred which had never lessened from the reign of Elizabeth, in reality they were entering a land where that spirit had not lessened to any appreciable extent. Dr. Burns says:

¹ BURNS, *The Catholic School System in the United States*, p. 35. New York, 1908.

Even for the post-Revolutionary period, the materials for a thorough study of the academic development of the schools are very scant and hard to be got at. Except in a few instances, nothing has yet been done to collect, from local sources, materials relating to the history of the schools during the last century. An abundance of data exists in local records, covering the history of the longer established schools during at least the past half century. . . . Only after local and diocesan historians have done their work, can a history be written of the Catholic educational movement which will do justice to the subject in all its aspects.²

For Pennsylvania only can the story be told with any degree of accuracy. There are records of schoolmasters in most of the towns founded by the German Catholic settlers of that State, and in some cases Catholic schools were built long before the little congregations could afford to erect a church. The combination school and church which is so common today was well known in these early years of the Republic, for church and school were always looked upon as one and indivisible. All the priests who laboured here during Dr. Carroll's episcopate were men of learning and most of them had been teachers. The German ex-Jesuits, who laboured in Pennsylvania, were particularly men of this type; and it is not difficult to surmise the interest taken in education by scholars of such high standing as Father Schneider, who had been Rector Magnificus of Heidelberg University, and Father Farmer, a member of the original Board of Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania. Father Molyneux's pastorate in Philadelphia bridges over the Revolutionary period, and his was the initiative which began that more compact system of parochial school training which places Philadelphia so high today in the Catholic educational progress of the country. "Father Molyneux was the first in this country, so far as is known, to publish textbooks for the use of Catholic schools. He had a catechism printed, and other elementary books, among which was a spelling primer for children with the Catholic Catechism annexed, printed in 1785."³ The first Catholic parochial school in Philadelphia was begun in 1781 in a house purchased from the Quakers. A new building was added the following year to accommodate the numbers of Catholic children of St. Mary's Parish. The school itself was near St. Joseph's Church, and

² *Ibid.*, p. 36.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

was two stories high, with the younger children occupying the upper floor. Two lay teachers were employed, and the school was directed by a board of managers, at the head of which were the priests of Philadelphia. In the beginning the pupils paid a stipulated tuition charge—those in the upper schoolroom seventeen shillings a term of nine months, and those in the lower room twenty shillings a term. Provision was made to educate six poor scholars annually. The teachers received a salary from sixty to seventy-five pounds a year, and the children paid for their own text-books, which were cheap enough for the poorest to procure. Cash prizes were offered four times a year to the value of twenty shillings to the pupils excelling in their studies. Dr. Burns has pointed out that the greatest difficulty experienced by the managers of St. Mary's School came from their inability to hold the best teachers. Between 1789 and 1800, for example, the schoolmaster was changed eight times. As far as possible the boys and girls were kept separated, though not necessarily in different rooms, and within the second decade of the school's existence a woman teacher was placed over the girls. The school was supported then, as now, by regularly announced school collections made during Mass on Sundays, and occasionally a "charity sermon" was given for this same purpose. Legacies and donations of various kinds were made in favour of St. Mary's School, and among these benefactors was the Father of the American Navy, Commodore John Barry, who left an annuity of twenty pounds to the school. A night school was in existence in the schoolhouse as early as 1805. The importance of St. Mary's parochial school in the history of Catholic education arises from the fact that Philadelphia was then our largest city, and St. Mary's, the largest and the richest parish in the United States. Dr. Burns calls St. Mary's: "The mother-school of all the parochial schools in the English-speaking States." ⁴

The second parochial school was that founded by the Holy Trinity parish of Philadelphia in 1789, when the basement of the church was set apart for that purpose. Later (1803) by means of a lottery, a separate school building was erected, and in this school the German Catholic children of the city were

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

instructed.⁵ Philadelphia's third parish, St. Augustine's, organized in 1796, sent its children to St. Mary's parochial school until 1811, when St. Augustine's parochial school was opened under the title "St. Augustine's Academy." From an old prospectus it would appear that the original idea of Dr. Carr, its founder, was to begin a boarding-school for advanced students, but this was soon abandoned and it became a day school for the children of the parish. "This first attempt at a Catholic high school failed because of the fewness of the pupils and probably also because of the expense attached to its maintenance."⁶ These three parochial schools served the Catholic children of the city until the episcopate of Bishop Kenrick (1830-1851), at which epoch dates the beginning of the growth of systematic Catholic education in Philadelphia. Schools existed also at Conewago, Goshenhoppen, McSherrystown, Mt. Airy, where Father Brosius was principal, and at Loretto, where Prince Gallitzin opened a school in 1800.

An interesting and instructive comparison might be drawn between these early educational efforts of the Philadelphia Catholics and those of the State of Pennsylvania itself. Custis writes:

Prior to the year 1818 meagre provision was made by the State for the education of its youth. The principal schools were privately endowed institutions, which admitted a limited number of indigent pupils free of cost. The Convention which revised the State Constitution (1789-90), amended the article which provided for the establishment of free schools, in which it was stated that the masters were to be paid such salaries as should "enable them to teach at low prices," to read as follows: "The Legislature shall, as soon as conveniently may be, provide by law for the establishment of schools throughout the State, in such a manner that the poor may be taught gratis." A number of Acts of Legislature were passed prior to 1818, providing for the education of poor children at the public expense in existing schools. The broadest of these Acts was that of 1809, which was supplemented in 1812, with a provision which gave the County Commissioners power to erect and establish schools under the direction of Councils.⁷

The erection of these public schools was a slow process, and Philadelphia itself was rather dilatory in providing schools for

⁵ HERTKORN, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-39.

⁶ McGOWAN, *Historical Sketch, etc.*, p. 38.

⁷ CUSTIS, *The Public Schools of Philadelphia*, p. 30. Philadelphia, 1897.

the children of the poor. The private schools stood in the way for a long time, and it was only in 1817, five years after the enactment mentioned above, that public schools, modelled on the Lancasterian (monitorial) system of England were begun. These schools were not popular, for the "pauper act" which established them was not well received. Parents disliked to admit their poverty and children were equally unwilling to be dubbed "charity scholars."⁸ The actual foundation of the present Public School System, which did not materialize without much opposition, for education was by no means a popular thing in the early nineteenth century, came much later (1838) in the history of Penn's city.⁹ The subjects taught were mainly the three R's—reading, writing, and arithmetic, though gradually geography took a prominent place in the school-room. The school discipline was rigid and sometimes very severe, and a teacher was judged more by the order kept in the classroom than by the progress of the pupils. In 1819, there were in Philadelphia ten schools with as many masters, and the number of pupils is given as 2,845.

At New York City there were only two parishes during the years of Dr. Carroll's episcopate—St. Peter's (1785) and St. Patrick's (1809). In 1800-01, at the urgent request of Bishop Carroll a parochial school was begun in St. Peter's parish, and it soon became one of the largest in the city. In 1805, the pupils numbered a hundred boys and girls. In 1806, Francis Cooper presented a petition to the New York State Assembly asking that a portion of the State money devoted to education be allotted to St. Peter's school, and the bill was passed with only one dissenting vote. St. Peter's parochial school was the only Catholic institution for primary education in New York City down to the year 1812, when three Ursuline nuns from Ireland came to New York to found a school for girls. An elementary school and a high school were opened, but the Sisters grew discouraged at the faint response to their efforts, and they returned to Ireland in 1815.

When Bishop Cheverus began his episcopate in Boston in

⁸ SWETT, *American Public Schools*, p. 187. New York, 1899.

⁹ WICKERSHAM, *History of Education in Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia, 1886.

1810, there were but three Catholic churches in New England—one in Boston, one at New Castle and one at Damariscotta, Maine. Only two priests were in the diocese, and the number of Catholics is estimated at not more than one thousand. It was not until the second decade of the nineteenth century that New England began to benefit by the great tide of Catholic immigration; the first parochial school of the diocese was not erected until five years after Archbishop Carroll's death.

In the Diocese of Bardstown, private Catholic schools were opened shortly after the settlement of Kentucky by Maryland Catholics, but these schools were temporary in character, their existence being dependent on their founders. The first school for primary education was that opened by the Trappists at Pottinger's Creek in 1805. This school was a combined elementary and secondary institution and while it lasted (1805-1809), it was successful. In 1807, the Dominicans opened a school, known as St. Thomas' College, in Washington Co., with a curriculum comprising elementary and classical studies. The pupils lived at the school and were required to spend from three to four hours a day in manual labour. In this way, the cost of their tuition was reduced, and they were trained in farming and in various trades of that section of Kentucky. At Vincennes, Father Flaget opened a school in 1792.¹⁰ He taught school himself with the help of others, and the studies were a combination of elementary knowledge, of agriculture and the trades. In Detroit, a Catholic school had been established shortly after the foundation of that city, and it appears to have flourished from 1703-4 down to 1796, when Detroit passed under American control. In June, 1798, Father Gabriel Richard was sent by Bishop Carroll to assist Father Levadoux, and, when the latter retired in 1801, Father Richard became the pastor and vicar-general for the district. Father Richard is one of the most attractive figures in the history of American education. His parish was the largest at that time beyond the Alleghanies, and, during his long career in Michigan, he was assuredly the leading educator of the old Northwest. With a

¹⁰ Cf. SPALDING, *Life of Flaget*, p. 34; ALERDING, *History of the Diocese of Vincennes*, p. 61.

view to raising the standards of education in Detroit, he established (1802) a high school for boys and young men and a primary school for the younger children. For the advanced training of young girls, he opened a normal school in order to prepare teachers for this important work; and it is noteworthy that the four young ladies who entered the normal school were directed to specialize in certain branches. After a two years' normal course, a girl's high school was opened (1804), and, shortly afterwards, the boys and girls in the primary school were separated, each having a school house to themselves. Like all the priests of this period, interested in the foundation of Catholic education, Father Richard believed in manual training; and he brought from the East spinning-wheels, looms, carding-machines, electrical apparatus, and materials for a physical and chemical laboratory. The fire of 1805 destroyed the city of Detroit, and the loss of the schools and their equipment was a great blow to this remarkable educator; but within a short time he had housed all his pupils in a large warehouse belonging to the United States Government. Father Richard's educational activities carried him outside the city of Detroit, and at this time Catholic schools were opened in other centres. Financially embarrassed at all times, his whole educational system was placed in jeopardy when he was sued by the United States for the rent of the warehouse at Spring Hill. In 1809, he brought from the East a printing-press and a printer, and that year was begun the *Michigan Essay or Impartial Observer*, the first Catholic paper published in the United States. From 1809 to 1812, this press, the first of its kind in the Northwest, published a series of text-books for the use of the pupils. The teaching in the schools, primary and secondary, was in French, since the majority of the children knew only that language. The War of 1812 interfered with his educational work, and Father Richard's patriotism cost him a long imprisonment by the British forces. Father Dilhet is also credited with a participation in the foundation of the University of Michigan, since he was the first to draw up a systematic plan for advanced studies in that institution. Being the leading authority on education in the State, Father Richard was chosen as Vice-President of the University at its opening in 1817. Richard's election to Congress in 1823 was a

"graceful recognition of the distinguished services he had rendered to the people of Michigan."¹¹

The problem of providing teachers for the elementary schools of Kentucky was met when Father Charles Nerinckx succeeded in organizing the Sisterhood of Loretto (1812). That same year Father David, subsequently coadjutor-Bishop of Bardstown, organized the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, who devoted themselves to the care of the sick and to the education of poor children, and a school was opened by Mother Catherine Spalding of this community in a little log house next to the Church of St. Thomas near Bardstown.

In all these projects for elementary and higher education outside the Diocese of Baltimore, Archbishop Carroll had an interest and a directing influence. His own diocese was being rapidly equipped with academies for advanced learning, but the three parishes, St. Peter's pro-Cathedral, St. Patrick's and the German Church, St. John's, were without parochial schools until 1815, when Father John Moranvillé opened a school for poor children in connection with St. Patrick's Church, of which he was pastor. Pupils of all creeds were admitted. The Diocese of Baltimore possessed several private schools where elementary instruction was also given to a limited number of boys and girls. Among the best known of these was the Visitation School for girls at Georgetown (1799) and Mother Seton's school in Baltimore (1808), where girls also were taught, until the transfer of the school to Emmitsburg (1809-10). St. Mary's College (1805) also received a certain number of boys, without distinction of creed, for the elements of learning, and provision was also made at Georgetown for those unable to begin high school or collegiate studies. Mount St. Mary's College at Emmitsburg (1809-1810) had its class of "minims."

Such in brief is the history of elementary Catholic education in the United States. It was but "a system in embryo." Its real development was not to begin until after the First Plenary Council of Baltimore (1829), when for the first time the Catholic hierarchy took up as a body the problem of a Catholic parochial school system. It is to be regretted that so little is known about

¹¹ BURNS, *op. cit.*, p. 196; cf. FARMER, *The History of Detroit and Michigan*, pp. 7288. Detroit, 1884.

the methods employed and the text-books used. So far as the studies and the methods are concerned, these earliest of our Catholic parochial and elementary schools did not differ much from those of other denominations or from those supported by the States. The best developed of all the primary Catholic schools during this time was that conducted by the Ursulines in New Orleans. From 1803 to 1815, the success of this oldest girls' school in the United States belongs to the history of the Church in the Diocese of Baltimore, since their school fought alone the battle for education for a century before the Church in the old French territory came under the jurisdiction of Archbishop Carroll. Under the new social conditions produced by the American Revolution, Catholics, especially in the great region west of the Alleghanies, where the members of their Faith largely dominated, soon saw their opportunity to organize a school system devoted to Faith and to learning. But the total number of Catholics there (probably not 10,000 in 1815) was too small for any successful standardizing of a school system. No claim can be made for superiority over the non-Catholic schools in this early period, but it is a remarkable fact and worthy of the historian's notice that in spite of their fewness, their poverty, and the lack of everything essential to such a system, the Catholics of Dr. Carroll's time did succeed in laying firmly and well the foundations of a school development which has been called "the greatest religious factor in the United States today."

For the history of collegiate education during these early years of church development, there is a greater number of documentary materials. The colleges for boys and young men from 1790 to 1815 were: Georgetown (1789), St. Mary's, Baltimore (1805), Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg (1809-10), St. Thomas College, Kentucky (1807) and the New York Literary Institution (1809). The first and the last were the work of the Jesuits; the second and third, of the Sulpicians, and the fourth, of the Dominicans. In 1822, St. Thomas College ceased to exist; in 1813, the Jesuits transferred the New York Literary Institution to the Trappists, who abandoned it in 1815, and it was closed; in 1852, St. Mary's College, Baltimore, was merged into Loyola College in that same city; and, in 1826, Mount St. Mary's ceased to be directed by the Sulpicians and was placed under the direc-

tion of the secular clergy. It is no disparagement to these Colleges to say that Georgetown occupied the largest share of Dr. Carroll's attention and concern. His letters to Father Plowden seldom fail to mention the condition of affairs in this establishment of his own creation, and though occasionally we find a reference to the other schools of higher learning, it is quite clear that he centred all his hopes for an educated laity upon this now venerable institution. Even after Georgetown College had passed into the control of the Society of Jesus, Dr. Carroll followed its every phase of progress and knew every detail of its crises during these years. Father Molyneux, the first Jesuit President (1806-1808), was succeeded by Father William Matthews. Father Francis Neale, S.J., succeeded to the presidency (1808-1812), and Father John Grassi, S.J., was head of the College at the time of Archbishop Carroll's death (1812-1817). Carroll saw small hopes for any project supervised by his friend, Robert Molyneux, whom he considered to be inclined to indolence; and Molyneux himself never made any pretence at energetic organization, since his physical condition did not allow him much activity. About Francis Neale, as President of Georgetown College, Carroll was never enthusiastic. In writing to Plowden, April 2, 1808, Dr. Carroll says: "You know that the latter [*Francis Neale*] is virtue and piety itself, but too illiterate to have any share in the direction of a literary institution . . . In this country, the talents of the president are the gauge, by which the public estimates the excellency or deficiency of a place of education; to which must be added affability, address and other human qualities for which neither of the Brs. [*Bishop Neale and Francis*] is conspicuous."¹² Long before this time, in Bishop Neale's presidency (1799-1806), Dr. Carroll expressed his dissatisfaction over the regimen of the College, in a letter to Plowden (March 12, 1800):

We have now a few juniors learning philosophy; but the College of G-town does not at present flourish in the number of students so as to promise a fresh supply of many more. Its president, my Coadjutor, and his Br. Francis, who are its principal administrators, and both of them, as worthy men as live, deter parents from sending their sons thither by some vigorous regulations, not calculated for the meridian of America.

¹² *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

Their principles are too monastic; and with a laudable view of excluding immorality, they deny that liberty which all here will lay claim to. Indeed it is a difficult problem to solve, what degree of it should be allowed in literary establishments: and never have I been able to satisfy my own mind on this subject tho' it has been much employed in thinking of it. Theory and experience are constantly at variance in this cause: for tho' the principles of religion and morality command the Instructors of youth to restrain their pupils from almost every communication with the men and things of the world, yet that very restraint operates against the effect intended by it, and it is too often found that on being delivered from it, young men, as when the pin which confined a spring is loosened, burst out of confinement into licentiousness, and give way to errors and vices, which with more acquaintance with the manners and language of the world, they would have avoided.¹³

There was opposition during this year (1800) between Georgetown and St. Mary's Seminary, and Carroll deplored the fact that six or seven young men who were ready to begin their ecclesiastical studies were being induced to remain at Georgetown for the course of philosophy just then opened instead of entering at the Baltimore Seminary. This opposition, due to "unreasonable prejudices" against "the worthy priests of S. Sulpice and the system of education pursued in the Seminary,"¹⁴ contributed to Archbishop Carroll's anxieties over the future of higher education in the country. Dr. Carroll placed great hopes in the accession of Father Kohlmann, S.J., to the community at Georgetown, in his letter to Plowden (April 2, 1806), when he "has become more informed of the customs of this country, and understands that a College, founded like that of G. Town, for the education of youth generally, must not be governed on the principles and in the System of a Convent."¹⁵

Bishop Carroll had never given any but a reluctant consent to the foundation of St. Mary's College in Baltimore by Father Du Bourg, since he looked upon it as a detriment to the progress of Georgetown. At one time he calls Du Bourg "a man of very pleasing manners, of an active and towering genius;" but five years later (Dec. 12, 1813) he describes him to the same correspondent as "a priest of great talent, but delighting more in the brilliant, than solidity," who carried the college on "with much

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 758.

¹⁵ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

apparent success and splendour for a few years; but the consequence was an enormous debt which has almost ruined both College and Seminary, a more deplorable event, for truly a more exemplary and worthy company of ecclesiastics [Sulpicians] nowhere exists." ¹⁶

After Father Grassi's acceptance of the Presidency of Georgetown, on October 1, 1812, Dr. Carroll wavers constantly between praise and blame for the college there. Stonyhurst's success was a constant stimulus to all who wished to see Georgetown prosper. "Oh! how we do want a vigorous and literary member of the Society with one or two good Scholastics, to take care of that fine establishment," he wrote of Georgetown to Plowden in the beginning of 1812;¹⁷ but before the end of the next year he is honest enough to confess, at a time when his relations with Grassi were beginning to be strained: "Mr. Grassi has revived the College of G. Town, which has received great improvement in the number of students and course of studies. His predecessor [*Francis Neale*] with the same good intentions had no ability for his station, and was nominated by a strange combination." ¹⁸

His last letters to Plowden in 1815, the year of his death, are all optimistic as to the future of the College, which had become a University that same year (March 1, 1815). On October 13, 1815, he tells Plowden that Father Grassi "continually adds celebrity and reputation to the character of his College, excepting the blame incurred on one account: Protestants, whose sons are sent thither, sometime complain, perhaps, without cause, of the means said to be used to bring them over to the Church." ¹⁹ If any reasonable fears for the future of Georgetown existed before 1815, certainly after that date the University, as it was henceforth called, made such rapid and substantial progress that its future place as the leader by age and by learning in the Catholic educational life of the country was an assured fact. To Father John Grassi, the University owes this beginning of its most thorough academic organization. Although Georgetown

¹⁶ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

suffered during the War of 1812 as did all higher schools of learning, the number of pupils was on the increase. The cessation of the New York Literary Institution in 1815 led several New York families to send their sons to Georgetown, and with these first accessions from without the State of Maryland, Georgetown's national influence began.

Side-by-side with the educational development of Catholic life in the young Republic went the rise and growth of charitable institutions. The plague of yellow fever which had swept the country in 1793 awoke Philadelphia to the realization that the hospital accommodations were woefully inadequate and in the first outbreak of the plague, the Guardians of the Poor commandeered the Hamilton mansion and converted it into Bush Hill Hospital. Mathew Carey, then the leading Catholic layman of the city, has left us a *Short Account of the Malignant Fever lately Prevalent in Philadelphia*, and some of his descriptions of the neglect almost surpass belief. Five hundred died in the hospital at the rate of about seven a day, from September to November, 1793. Other outbreaks occurred in 1795 and 1797. The fever became epidemic in this last year, while in the following year (1798) twenty-four per cent. of the people of the city died from the disease. The dreadful scourge which had decimated the city in five years, had left many children orphans, and means were taken at once to furnish them with homes. An association was formed for the purpose of caring for the Catholic children, and these were confided to the care of a Catholic woman and lodged in a house near Holy Trinity Church.²⁰ In 1807, this association was incorporated under the legal title of "the Roman Catholic Society of St. Joseph's for Educating and Maintaining Poor Orphan Children," and it was to this house of nearly two hundred orphans that seven years later (1814), three of Mother Seton's Sisters of Charity came from Emmitsburg. This was the only institution of its kind in the archdiocese up to 1815. The welfare work of the Daughters of Charity of Emmitsburg and of the Sisters of Charity, of Nazereth, Kentucky, the pioneer Sisterhoods of the United States saw the beginning of its present development in the decade following Archbishop Carroll's death.

²⁰ HERTKORN, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59; KIRLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE LAST YEARS

(1811-1815)

Archbishop Carroll was invested with the pallium on August 18, 1811, by Bishop Neale.¹ His position as first metropolitan or chief shepherd of the Catholic Church in the United States was at last made officially public, and the organization of the American hierarchy finally completed. The United States at this time comprised a single ecclesiastical province, divided into five dioceses, with a sixth in process of formation for Louisiana. As Ordinary of his own Diocese of Baltimore, Dr. Carroll had all the obligations and the burdens that are common to every bishopric. As Metropolitan of the United States, it was to Carroll that the other bishops looked for guidance in all matters touching the Church within the nation. He was the ordinary and immediate superior of the American bishops, though his jurisdiction did not extend to their subjects. In matters concerning the national Church he was the presiding judge, and it was to Carroll that the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide looked for all official information concerning the Church in general in the United States. All national Catholic matters passed through his hands to the Holy See. When the bishops separated after their consecration at Baltimore in 1810, it was agreed that a Provincial Council would be held in November, 1812. Had this council taken place, there is no doubt that the organization of the American Church would have been blessed with a more efficient general administration than it possessed during these last years of Dr. Carroll's life. Two obstacles prevented the holding of the Council: the War of 1812 and the captivity of Pius VII.

It was only after long years of growing bitterness and resent-

¹ The pallium was brought to Baltimore by the British Minister to the United States.

ment against England's high-handed actions towards America that Congress declared war in June, 1812. The creation of the French Empire, with Napoleon as Emperor of the French in 1804, meant a world war upon a scale hitherto undreamed. The wars between 1792 and 1802 were the direct outcome of the French Revolution, but those from 1803 to 1815 were Napoleonic wars, in which Europe, with England at its head, combined as allies to overthrow the great military genius. Napoleon's conquest of Austria and Prussia in 1805-1806, and the subsequent alliance of France and Russia by the Peace of Tilsit in July, 1807, brought England and France out into decisive conflict. Napoleon had failed on the sea, when his navy was defeated at Trafalgar by Nelson (1805), and in revenge he prepared a Continental blockade with the design of ruining England by cutting off her commercial relations with the Continent. England replied with a blockade of her own. Both these war measures of England and France violated international equity, in ignoring the rights of all neutral states to carry on commerce. The action of the two nations brought financial ruin to many American merchants and shippers. Despite the protests of the Americans, no alleviation was granted, and the popular cry for war soon arose. Jefferson's Embargo Act of December, 1807, was for the purpose of bringing both England and France to terms, but the direct result was the ruin of American trade. The South and West particularly bore the brunt of the American blockade, while along the Atlantic our ships lay at anchor in the harbours. The repeal of the Embargo Act in February, 1809, helped little to relieve the distress; and Madison's succession to the Presidency in March, 1809, was not viewed with much pleasure by those who were loudly clamouring for American rights. England's method of impressment on the high seas only intensified the anger of the Americans, many of whom were determined on a second War of Independence.

Dr. Carroll gives us a glimpse into the national animus of the day in a letter to Plowden, dated September 19, 1809:

The raising here of our embargo and subsequent Convention with Mr. Erskine [*the British minister at Washington*] set all our American shipping afloat, but the disavowal of that Convention has very much damped the spirit of enterprise; the numerous partisans of your inveterate foes,

and of orderly government, try to avail themselves of the most unwise and impolite conduct of your government to inflame the passions of this country against yours; in which they are too successfully seconded by the numerous Irish emigrants, who bring hither with them all the prejudice and violence excited by past and recent most iniquitous tyranny towards them: these are kept alive by some rancorous editors of newspapers, tho' in this country these emigrants have no cause to disturb our peace, by the diffusion of their sentiments. You may be sure that little would remain here of that factious spirit, which is the bane of most free countries, if it were not for the busy intriguing French and headstrong Irish amongst us; these last deserve sympathy, for they have been goaded by their sufferings into madness. Your new Envoy, Mr. Jackson, has lately arrived; after the disappointment caused by the rejection of Mr. Erskine's treaty, we lovers of peace hope that he has brought terms of conciliation, or much asperity will arise against your new enemies: for heaven knows that she [England] is the bulwark of public welfare—*spes ultima mundi*.²

Archbishop Carroll was personally opposed to the policy which insisted that the problems which were causing enmity between America and England had to be settled by war. Three years later, on January 27, 1812, he wrote to his friend:

Our American Cabinet, and a majority of Congress seem to be infatuated with a blind predilection for France, which no injuries or insults from that country can extinguish,³ and an unconquerable hostility to England. This last is nurtured by the unaccountable impolicy of the latter in still maintaining the orders of Council so detrimental to itself, and so irritating to us. Every day seems to bring us nearer to open hostility, in which we have everything to lose and nothing to gain. In this state of things I long for the period when your Regent will be loosed from his trammels, and it will be seen what course of policy he will pursue.⁴

The outbreak of hostilities on June 18, 1812, rendered the conveyance of letters between America and Europe so uncertain that from this time down to Dr. Carroll's death we have very little documentary evidence for the history of the Church in this

² *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

³ The failure of Great Britain to support Erskine in repealing the orders in council was tantamount to a suspension of trade with England; but when Napoleon in May, 1810, ordered all American vessels in French ports to be seized, the loss to American shipping amounted to forty million dollars. Madison's meek submission to this outrage had the effect of arousing the war spirit of the country. Cf. McCARTHY, *History of the United States*, p. 259 note. New York, 1919.

⁴ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

country. When President Madison appointed a day for prayer in the crisis which came upon our national life, Archbishop Carroll issued a Charge to his people, calling upon all Catholics to offer their prayers in unison with their fellow-citizens in order that Divine Providence might guide the Republic in the crisis. On August 6, 1812, he sent this Charge to the pastors of the diocese:

Rev. Sir:—

The President of the United States has recommended to the people thereof to set apart Thursday, the 20th of August, for the purpose of rendering public homage to the Supreme Ruler of the universe, humble adoration of His infinite perfections, and supplications to him for the protecting of peace and prosperity to our common Country. In compliance with this recommendation and considering that we, the members of the Catholic Church, are at least, equally indebted as our fellow-citizens to the Bestower of every good gift, for past and present blessings, stand in the same need of His protection, and ought to feel an equal interest in the welfare of these United States during the awful crisis now hanging over them: I cannot hesitate to require the respective clergymen employed in the care of souls throughout this Diocese to invite and encourage the faithful under their pastoral charge to unite on Thursday August 20, for divine worship, and most particularly in offering through the minister of the church the august and salutary sacrifice of Grace, the Body and Blood of the Lamb of God Which takes away the sins of the world, to implore through it divine protection in all our lawful pursuits public and private, to shield us in danger, and to restore and secure to us the return of the days of peace, a happy peace in this life and above all that peace which the world cannot give.

✠ JOHN, *Archbp. of Baltimore.*⁵

His young relation, Mr. Henry Carroll, went out as secretary to one of our plenipotentiaries, sent to negotiate a peace with England—Carroll wrote on January 31, 1814, to Plowden.⁶ But the war dragged on, with dangerous elements at work, especially in New England, which tended towards the disruption of the Union; and in August, 1814, the greatest humiliation in American history occurred when General Ross entered Washington, and burned the Capitol, the President's home, and other Government buildings. With the nation's capital in his possession, Ross joined with the British fleet in the attack on Baltimore.

⁵ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11-14; printed in the *Researches*, vol. viii, p. 18; cf. *SHEA, op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 656-657.

⁶ *Stonhurst Transcripts*.

In the midst of the alarm created, Archbishop Carroll issued a letter to the Catholics of the city: "It is hereby recommended to our Catholic Brethren in this City during the present state of alarm and danger to implore the powerful aid and protection of our Heavenly Father over ourselves and fellow citizens, and those particularly who now must leave their homes and families for the common defense. Let them be recommended to Divine mercy through the intercession of the Bd. Virgin Mary as the chosen Patroness of the Diocese not doubting of Her readiness to intercede for those who have recourse to Her in the time of their need."⁷

The guns of Fort McHenry successfully defended the city, and, in a land attack, Ross was killed. Dr. Carroll describes the bombardment of his episcopal city in a letter to Plowden, January 5, 1815: "The visit of your countrymen last summer to Washington has nearly ruined several of my nearest connexions. They came next to this city in their shipping; it was an awful spectacle to behold—before us at least 40 vessels great and small and for about 25 hours fire bomb ketches, discharging shots on the forts of upward 200 lb. weight each. You may suppose that we did not sleep much. Heaven preserve us from another such visitation!"⁸ On March 20, 1815, he wrote again to Plowden: "Having lived, thro' God's providence, to witness the return of peace between our respective countries, I resume with pleasure, and, whilst I can, propose to continue that correspondence, which for so many years has been so delightful and beneficial to me, and I flatter myself not altogether unentertaining to you. The restoration of tranquillity in Europe, and now to these States, will make it free from any more interruptions, I hope, forever."⁹ He repeats his thought in a subsequent letter (June 23, 1815), in which he says that "now in my 80th year, my sincere prayer is that [the peace between our respective countries] may never be disturbed again; yet some are afraid that the new state of things in Europe [Napoleon's return from Elba, etc.] will tend to embroil us, unless wiser counsels direct our Rulers than heretofore. After witnessing and standing the

⁷ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Special C-A10; printed in the *Researches*, vol. viii, p. 59.

⁸ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

⁹ *Ibid.*

tremendous bombardment of our fire bomb vessels, Congreve rockets, etc., for 27 hours incessantly at Baltimore, my mind recoils from the idea of beholding more of such scenes." ¹⁰ His last letter to Father Plowden (October 13, 1815) contains a valuable reflection for the history of the period: "The great revolutions which then (after Napoleon's return) began to appear, which are since disclosed, render the times in which we have lived uncommonly eventful, and fruitful of serious reflections. The glory of your country is at its highest elevation. To have stood alone against an overwhelming power, which compelled submission from every power in Europe until it was met by British arms, and to have at length reanimated the trembling nations to shake off their yoke, is the exclusive merit of Englishmen, as His Holiness truly compliments them in his letter to the Bishops of Ireland." ¹¹

The Catholics of the United States had no hesitation in lending their loyal support to the Government during the war, and when Baltimore was delivered from the peril of capitulation, Archbishop Carroll issued a Pastoral appointing a solemn *Te Deum* to be sung in both St. Peter's and St. Patrick's, on October 20, 1814. We have already described the splendid heroism of the Ursuline nuns during the battle of New Orleans, and Bishop Du Bourg's welcome to the American leader, Andrew Jackson, at the door of the Cathedral, on the day of thanksgiving for the victory. ¹²

The inconveniences arising from the War of 1812 were mainly of a domestic nature in the church organization of the day, but the stoppage of correspondence caused both by the War and the imprisonment of the Pope, had its effect upon ecclesiastical progress in this country. Of the five suffragan sees, New York had been vacant since 1810; Philadelphia was not only vacant but was the pawn of ecclesiastical meddlers abroad; and Louisiana was distracted with a schism which threatened to become permanent under the leadership of the Capuchin, Sedella. The closing years of Carroll's administration are marked by silence

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² WILLIAMS, *American Catholics in the War*, pp. 46-47. Washington, D. C., 1921.

between Rome and Baltimore. Propaganda was closed (1808-1813) and the Holy See refused to deal with church affairs so long as the Vicar of Christ was under duress. The practical cessation of all direction from Rome left Archbishop Carroll without any help in the difficult task of preserving the unity of the Church in this country; and added to this was his growing conviction that he had lost favour with Roman officials.

The captivity of Pius VII began with Napoleon's decree at Schönbrunn on May 18, 1808, abolishing the temporal sovereignty of the Pope and annexing the Papal states to the French Empire. Pius VII was forcibly removed to Savona, where he was kept a prisoner for three years. He was then transferred to Fontainebleau, during Napoleon's Russian campaign (1812), and on January 18, 1813, there occurred the first of that remarkable series of interviews between Pius VII and the Emperor, the result of which was the Concordat of Fontainebleau, signed on January 25, 1813. This Concordat was repudiated by the Holy See in March, 1813, and the Pope was kept under close surveillance until January, 1814, when he was taken under escort back to Savona. On May 17, 1814, he was liberated, and the aged prisoner set out for Rome, where he arrived on May 24. Napoleon had signed his abdication (April 11, 1814) in the very place where he had confined the august Head of the Church, and though the "hundred days" were to come before Waterloo (June 18, 1815), Europe was on the eve of a return to normal conditions. During these years of the Captivity of Pius VII (1809-1814) ecclesiastical business was almost at a standstill. Cardinal di Pietro, Prefect of Propaganda (1805-1814) under whose jurisdiction lay the Church in the United States, was first removed to Semur, and then to Paris. When he refused to assist at Napoleon's marriage with the Archduchess Marie Louise, he was arrested and thrown into the dungeon of Vincennes. Later he was liberated, for we find him at Fontainebleau with Pius VII. During di Pietro's absence from Rome, the Sacred Congregation was in charge of the Secretary, Monsignor John Baptist Quarantotti, who, it appears, acted during this time as Vice-Prefect of Propaganda. Quarantotti was then nearly eighty years old, and was by no means possessed of the ability such a critical juncture demanded, as is well known to all familiar with the English

Catholic history of this period.¹³ The consequence was that with the Holy Father separated from his counsellors, and with the heads of the various Congregations either in prison, or forbidden to remain in Rome, or to consult the aged Pontiff, the organization of the Church suffered as at no time in its history. The *blocus continental* had demoralized shipping all over the world; and hence letters, when sent, were despatched in duplicate and triplicate by different routes.¹⁴ Some few letters exist for the years 1804-1808 but the remaining years down to Archbishop Carroll's death are particularly barren of correspondence between Rome and Baltimore. The case of Bishop Concanen, who had been consecrated in 1808 for New York, is typical. He did not succeed in leaving Italy, owing to the blockade, and his every attempt to send Dr. Carroll first-hand information of all that had been done by Propaganda for the Church in the United States, failed. Dr. Concanen was entrusted with the Briefs for the consecration of the three bishops, with various letters from the Holy See to Archbishop Carroll, and with the latter's pallium. Everything seems to have been lost except the pallium, which reached Carroll through the British Embassy at Washington, in 1811. Fortunately some of the letters written during this period were later recovered, and they can be consulted; but their non-reception left Archbishop Carroll in a quandary over many things that vitally affected the peace and unity of the Church.¹⁵

Letters may still be found from Propaganda or from Pius VII during these years, but the Roman and Baltimore Archives do not contain any, and it would appear as if the last official relation between Baltimore and Rome was the bestowal of the pallium on August 11, 1811. We know of letters written to Rome by Archbishop Carroll during this time, but their absence from the Archives of Propaganda would lead one to believe that they were lost in transit. The news of Pius VII's liberation and return to Rome reached Carroll quickly, however, and on July 3, 1814, he issued a Pastoral to his people, appointing a solemn *Te Deum* to be chanted in St. Peter's pro-Cathedral on

¹³ Cf. WARD, *Ever of Catholic Emancipation*, vol. ii, pp. 71-101; GILLOW, *op. cit.*, vol. v, p. 23.

¹⁴ Carroll to Plowden, April 2, 1808, *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

¹⁵ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

July 10th. This, it will be remembered, was but a month before the bombardment of the city. The following passages from the Pastoral contain an accurate reflection of Carroll's anxiety during these years of silence:

The Holy Catholick Church has mourned for many years over the sufferings and captivity of her visible head, the successor of St. Peter, and Vicar upon earth of our Lord Jesus Christ. Every day at the August Sacrifice of the New Testament, we offered our prayers and entreated Almighty God, for the deliverance of His Servant Pius VII, and for a renewal of a free intercourse between him and the Christian people, committed to his fatherly solicitude. United together on the Lord's day, we repeated, with redoubled confidence our humble petition, that it would please Divine goodness to enable our chief Pastor to feed the flock of Christ with the food of wholesome doctrines and salutary instructions, as well as to edify them by continuing to exhibit bright examples of patience, resignation, magnanimity and unlimited confidence in the promises made to that Church, which was purchased by the blood of the Son of God.

Nevertheless the rigour of confinement was encreased; new obstacles were interposed to intercept all communications between his Holiness and those who needed his paternal counsels and guidance. Entire regions and provinces were destitute of any pastors. The integrity of Catholick doctrine, the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline were exposed to the open violence and hostility of their declared enemies, and liable to be undermined by the artifices of corrupt seducers. Infidelity boldly stepped forward, encouraged to effect, and presumptuously to fortell the downfall of the Apostolic chair of St. Peter, and the extinction of those splendid evidences, which from the earliest periods of Christianity to the present day illuminated and directed the sincere lovers of truth to discover and follow the Church, of which it has been spoken, that the spirit of truth should abide with it all days even to the consummation of the world.

This assurance and other numerous promises, coming from the mouth of Infallibility itself, were our support and consolation, in the midst of the tempests which assailed the bark of Peter, that is the stability of his Episcopacy, and the rock on which the Church is built. How often did you hear the presumptuous denunciation, that the present venerable Pontiff would be the last of the Successors of the Prince of the Apostles? That their faith, the Catholick faith, the object of so much and often, it is feared, of wilful misrepresentation, and bitter enmity would be effaced from the minds of all men? Yet allow me, my dear Brethren, to rejoice with you, and glorify God for your steadfastness and unshaken confidence in the words of Christ to St. Peter, recorded by St. Luke, ch. 22: *I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not; and thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren.* Eternal wisdom, for reasons impenetrable to human understanding, perhaps for a more splendid dis-

play of divine goodness, permitted the foes of virtue and truth, to exercise uncontrolled power for the accomplishment of their blasphemous purposes. Fanaticism always inconsistent, and infidelity disguising itself under the false garb of human reason, and philosophy, vainly boasted, that being freed from the thralldom of laws and ecclesiastical restraints they would deliver mankind from the terrors of a pretended revelation, and dissipate the darkness of prejudices and deep-rooted error, expose to the scorn of the world the pretended delusions of folly, and unmask the idolatry (for so they dared to express themselves) of the doctrines and the worship of the Church of Rome. In the career of their unbridled licentiousness, they were favoured by the passions of those who desired to indulge themselves with impunity, and without remorse. The civil authority was generally leagued with infidelity; that of the Church can act only on the conscience, and of course inspired no terror; for the voice of conscience was heard no more. Every facility was granted to insure the success of irreligion, and to aid the display of its boasted advantages of superior sense, learning, talents and reason. The record of the past ages, sacred and profane history, were ransacked and falsified to vilify the Church of God, the lives and sacred character of the Vicars of Jesus Christ. Even the holy scriptures were tortured in a thousand contradictory and absurd senses to render them objects of contempt, and degrade that only religion, which by its uniform, uninterrupted testimony in behalf of their divine authority, established a claim to our highest veneration.

My beloved brethren: We have passed days and years of painful anxiety; for though we did not lose sight of Him, who after declaring that His Church was built on a rock, and that the gates of Hell should not prevail against it, yet we knew not the term allotted for our chastisement, nor for the return of mercy. That term is now come, and we are bound by duty and sentiment, to hail it with the accents of thanksgiving and praise. You are convoked together today for the performance of this duty. O my brethren, let it make a lasting impression on you; let the occasion, as well as the celebration be deeply engraven on your memory. This is the day which the Lord has made; let us exult exceedingly, and rejoice therein.

Wherefore, my beloved brethren, after encouraging you to meditate profoundly on the economy of divine Providence, in preserving, conducting and giving perpetuity to His Church, and maintaining, in spite of worldly opposition, the Apostolical See of St. Peter, it was judged advisable and necessary to give publicity and solemnity to this act, by which in union with the Christian world, we shall celebrate the restoration of His Holiness, Pius VII, to the prerogatives of his high dignity, the peaceful government and administration of the Catholick Church. To this effect, on Sunday, July the 10th, immediately after the celebration of High Mass in St. Peter's Church, Baltimore, the hymn (*Te Deum*) of praise and thanksgiving is to be solemnly performed which will be followed

with the benediction of the most holy Sacrament. In other churches of the city and diocese, this mandate shall be read on the Sunday after its being received, and the same hymn of praise and thanksgiving be there sung, or reverently read. . . .¹⁶

It is difficult to say when the first communications from Rome reached Archbishop Carroll; evidently he had not heard from Propaganda before March 20, 1815, since he wrote to Plowden that day: "Since the return of His Holiness to Rome, I have not received the least communication from him, or any of his Congns. acting under his authority, tho' it is certain that some letters written in my own name and others jointly with the other bishops were received by the Pope before his liberation, and I cannot doubt that others have reached him since."¹⁷ Archbishop Carroll wrote to Pope Pius VII in July, 1814, expressing the congratulations of the Catholic Church in the United States on his restoration to the Eternal City; and at the same time he wrote to Cardinal Litta, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation, giving him a brief account of the condition of religion in this country.¹⁸ The grave inconvenience was that, thus cut off from the centre of authority, the Church in America lay at the mercy of malcontent priests at home and of meddlers abroad.

Carroll's hopes of 1810 that the organization of church life was at last begun had almost wholly disappeared by the summer of 1814. New York was still without a bishop, and some uneasiness was felt at Father Kohlmann's attitude. That thoroughly observant Jesuit was far in advance of his brethren in power of vision; for he told the Superior, Father Grassi, that it was time for the Society to break the bonds which from time immemorial had bound the Jesuits to Maryland.¹⁹ The state of New York, he assured Grassi, was of greater importance than all the other states together, and the moment was opportune for the Jesuits to secure control of the Church in that diocese. He

¹⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 10-W4; printed in the *Researches*, vol. viii, pp. 146-150.

¹⁷ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

¹⁸ Carroll to Litta, November 28, 1814, October 10, 1815, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9A-C1 (rough drafts). On March 15, 1815, Litta wrote stating that the Sacred Congregation had no news of the Archdiocese of Baltimore for several years and requested that Carroll send a report on conditions (*Ibid.*, Case 5-A5); but it is not certain whether Carroll replied to this letter.

¹⁹ HUGHES, *op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 945.

protested, as we have seen, against the Society being "eternally buried as in a tomb," in Maryland. The lethargic influence of the Neales was paramount at the time and Kohlmann was unable to rouse them with his strictures on their "blessed farms." Neither the presence of the Jesuits in New York City nor the transfer of Georgetown College "bodily to New York," as Kohlmann urged, affected the situation of the vacant bishopric itself, for that see was filled without any effort on the part of the Holy See to ascertain the wishes of Carroll and his suffragans. From a standpoint of polity, the fault lay not so much with Rome as it did with the Americans. The *Atti* of 1814 show that Pius VII hesitated somewhat over Connolly's election to the See of New York,²⁰ and there is large room to surmise that more interest on the part of Carroll might have kept the nomination within the hands of the Americans. After four years of a disinterestedness, which may have been admirable at the time, Cheverus was hardly within his rights in writing to Flaget (May 27, 1815): "I am afraid that His Holiness is not sensible of the real state of our Missions in appointing Connolly to New York."²¹ Carroll, it is true, never seemed to think New York worthy of any anxiety, and in his many complaints to Plowden, to Troy and to his own suffragans, on the foreign interference of these last years, it is rather the intrigues to place the notorious Harold in the See of Philadelphia which finally roused him. In Philadelphia, after almost four years of disgraceful insubordination on the part of the Harolds, Bishop Egan had broken down under the burden and had gone to his reward, leaving that diocese open territory for intriguers.

With the chief characteristics of Carroll's life already described in these pages it is difficult not to recognize in the uncertainties of these last years one causal element which might easily have been eliminated. If there is the weight of Rome's silence in American Church affairs from 1808 to 1815, there is likewise an equally unfortunate silence on Carroll's part for a longer period; and one feels that Thorpe, his earliest adviser, realized the non-chalance of the prelate he was representing in Rome, when on January 21, 1792, he urged Carroll to write oftener, to write

²⁰ *Propaganda Archives, Atti* (1814), f. 95.

²¹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Case 2-P7.*

more freely, to Propaganda: "A little management on your part would suffice to hold the Propaganda in good humor."²² It was true that everything Jesuit in the earlier period of Carroll's episcopate was a *lapis offensivus* to Propaganda; but Antonelli was at least sympathetic, and we have seen how eagerly Borromeo and even Borgia responded to the pleasant little surprise of American tobacco Thorpe had suggested to Carroll to send. It would be idle to read motives into Carroll's policy of intimating to Propaganda that he would welcome the completest freedom of action; but if a venture may be made, perhaps the reason, or at least, one of the chief reasons which caused the gradual coldness between Baltimore and Rome was the Holy See's silence on what the American bishops believed to be a most necessary prerogative for the good of the Church in this country; namely, freedom in election to American sees. The five American bishops had emphasized this factor in their joint letter to Rome in November, 1810; and, doubtless, had it been promptly granted by the Holy See, they would have held their projected Meeting of 1812 in spite of the War. As the autumn of 1812 approached, Carroll wrote to Bishops Cheverus, Egan and Flaget postponing the Meeting. Cheverus, no doubt, had influenced the Archbishop not to call the suffragans together. "When two years ago," he wrote from Boston, August 31, 1812, "we fixed the time of our next meeting, I supposed and understood it was in the hope that we should be able to hear from the Holy Father, that the vacant Sees of New York and New Orleans would be occupied. . . . But as unhappily everything remains in the same situation where we left it two years since, you must excuse me when I say that I do not see either the necessity or even the great utility of a provincial council being held at the present moment."²³ On December 30, 1812, Cheverus wrote again to Carroll, saying that rumours had reached him that the other bishops were blaming him for postponing the Meeting,²⁴ and on January 5, 1813, he wrote to say that if the others insisted, he would go. "I should feel very sorry to furnish a precedent to Bishop Flaget and others for absenting themselves on a future occasion." Cheverus did not

²² *Ibid.*, Case 8-L11.

²³ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-08.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Case 2-09.

see the necessity of taking the long and then unpleasant journey to Baltimore to settle a few questions which "the professors at the Seminary could just as easily decide."²⁵

Two years later, Bishop Egan's death (July 22, 1814) re-awakened Carroll's desires to have the question of autonomy in episcopal elections settled; and his letters to Bishops Cheverus and Flaget, dated August 23, 1814, which the reader has seen in a previous chapter, warned the suffragans that interference might be expected.

Shea claims that Archbishop Carroll felt a delicacy in thrusting unsolicited his views as to suitable candidates on the authorities in Rome.²⁶ But that fact, if it be true, cannot excuse the American hierarchy from the charge of neglect. It was their duty, by the canon law of the times, to proceed at once with the business of filling each vacant see in the archdiocese. That Rome might reject each and all of their candidates was another matter. Connolly's appointment was a discourtesy not so much to the American bishops as to the nation; for it was scarcely a dignified thing to see a prelate appointed to an American see obliged to wait until his country had made peace with the United States before he could enter his bishopric. But the traditional attitude of those who have accepted Shea's interpretation of Troy's "management" on filling the vacant See of New York cannot be justified by the documents for this particular instance in our possession. Connolly knew shortly after Concanen's death (1810) that the Holy See intended to send him to New York, and nowhere does the Metropolitan of Dublin, though a fellow-Dominican with Concanen and Connolly, appear in the letters regarding the New York episcopate. Nor does Carroll ever intimate that he saw Troy's hand in the New York appointment. That Carroll felt differently about the campaign to foist Harold, another Dominican, on Philadelphia, is, however, only too evident from his letters to Plowden and to Troy himself.²⁷ And we have

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Case 2-010.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 661.

²⁷ Carroll to Troy, August 4 (?), 1815 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 9-La; printed in the *Records*, vol. XX, pp. 67-69)—"would it not be resented as a very improper interference if the Bishops in the United States should presume to suggest to the Holy See, the persons to be appointed to fill the vacant Sees of Ireland?" (Cf. *Researches*, vol. x, p. 181; vol. xxiii, p. 278; *Records*, vol. xxi, p. 89; vol. xxii, p. 151.)

seen how Carroll states that Troy has admitted this influence in favour of Harold, whereas Troy himself asserts that he merely chronicled the interference of others to Carroll. In such a phase of misunderstanding between the Metropolitans of Baltimore and of Dublin, it is best to suspend judgment until further documents come to light.²⁸

One of the most interesting episodes of these last years of Carroll's life is his unwilling share in the affairs of the Catholic Church in England; and the author of the *Eve of Catholic Emancipation* has missed a valuable series of documents on the Catholic question in not making use of the Carroll-Plowden correspondence. These letters are of importance to the American Catholic historian not only as reflections from the mind of an outsider on the grave conflict in England between 1797 and 1829, but also as affording an opportunity of drawing a comparison between the acknowledged leaders of the English and American hierarchies of the day—Milner and Carroll. After the first Act of Relief for Roman Catholics had been passed by Parliament in 1788, the first of a series of Catholic Committees of laymen, with Charles Butler as the leading spirit, was formed for the purpose of bringing about complete emancipation for those who belonged to the Faith. The parties soon developed: the one, eager to placate the Government by means of compromises, the chief of which was to be the Veto; and the other, determined to obtain complete redress of Catholic grievances, unaccompanied by any conditions or fetters. The first was led by several of the Vicars-Apostolic and the celebrated Charles Butler; the second, by Dr. Milner, who became Vicar-Apostolic of the Midland district in 1803. Bishop Milner was supported by the Irish hierarchy, at whose head was Archbishop Troy. From 1803 until his death, Archbishop Carroll followed with great uneasiness the trend of Catholic affairs in England. As early as March, 1803, he wrote to Father Plowden that Milner's *History of Winchester* and his

²⁸ The *provenance* of Carroll's distrust of Troy can be easily traced in Plowden's letters to the Archbishop of Baltimore; and Plowden writes as one under the stress of conflict between the English and Irish bishops at the time of the Oath controversy. No further documents could be found in the *Dublin Archiepiscopal Archives*. The reader is referred to Ryan's remarkable letter from Lisbon, December 14, 1813. Zwiernie's treatment of the question will be found in his *Les Nominations épiscopales aux premiers temps de l'épiscopat Américain*, in the *Mélanges Moeller*, vol. ii, pp. 526-555. Louvain, 1914.

"triumphant reply to Sturges" (*Letters to a Prebendary, etc.*, Winchester, 1800) caused him to consider the valiant and learned vicar-apostolic as "the Hero of the Catholic Cause." Father Plowden furnished him with all the books which were written during the controversy on the Veto question, and Dr. Carroll, in acknowledging these, wrote:

In the late controversies, which have arisen with you, both in the Catholic Question before Parliament and generally on disputed points, Protestants are so totally defeated that nothing remains for them but to repeat misrepresentations, which they know to be such. The triumph of truth is manifest, and must have its effect. Besides Bishop Milner's works, I caused to be reprinted here and have given as wide circulation to a late production of your island, which I wonder that you have not mentioned. It is entitled *An Essay on Religious Controversy* and ascribed by Mr. Betagh of Dublin who sent it to me, to the Rev. Mr. Fletcher of Hexham.²⁹ It is an admirable performance for its elegance and solid acute reasoning and I should not exaggerate in saying that I have read it over at least four times.³⁰

The following year he mentions this book again, asking Plowden (February 21, 1809), to

be sure to let me know something of the Rev. Mr. Fletcher, whose *Reflections on the Spirit of Controversy* delight me more and more, and of which I caused an edition to be printed here, and it has a great effect on Catholics and Protestants. . . . We are now reprinting Milner's *Letters to Sturges*. I wish much to receive his account of the miraculous cure at St. Winifred's, concerning which so much controversy has been excited in the *Gentlemen's Magazine*, and it must give pleasure to the friends of religion to find the Bishop so superior to his antagonists.³¹

How intimate a knowledge Archbishop Carroll possessed on all the literary movements of the day can be judged from a paragraph in one of his letters about this time (June 2, 1809) to Plowden:

I know not whether another of my young country men, named Walsh, who has been near two years in England, has taken Stonyhurst in the

²⁹ Cf. GILLOW, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 298.

³⁰ *Stonihurst Transcripts*. In the Carroll correspondence at Notre Dame University (*Catholic Archives of America*), there is a letter from Milner to Carroll, dated Wolverhampton, May 4, 1812, in which the English bishop says: "There is no Prelate to whom I look up with more veneration than to the Archbishop of Baltimore."

³¹ *Ibid.*

course of his peregrinations. For his age, he is equal in his extent of literature to any youth I ever knew, and his journey and observations in Europe, especially in France and your country, must have added very considerably to his stock of knowledge. If you see him, you will be much gratified by his conversation. Having been much with Mr. Pinckney, the American minister, and in his confidence, he has formed an acquaintance with many of your leading characters and acquired an insight into public affairs which may amuse and disclose to you some transactions with respect to the Catholic question, of which perhaps you have not heard.³³

Robert Walsh, one of the foremost American political writers at that time, was then in his twenty-fifth year. He was born at Baltimore in 1785, and was one of the first students to enter Georgetown College. There his mental powers were the admiration of his teachers and his oration on February 22, 1799, at the Memorial in honour of George Washington, young as he was, ranked him among the coming orators of the country. After his graduation in 1801, he studied law, and then began an extensive tour of Europe. In 1811, he established at Philadelphia the first American quarterly review, the *American Review of History and Politics*. His *Appeal from the Judgment of Great Britain Respecting the United States* (1811) was undoubtedly the most widely circulated book of the day. It is Robert Walsh who has given us the best character sketch of Archbishop Carroll.³⁴

Archbishop Carroll and his suffragans were appealed to in 1811 by the Vicar-Apostolic of England on the Catholic question, then before Parliament; and a copy of the *Resolutions* passed by the bishops of England at Durham, in August, 1811, "respecting their differences with Milner and the Irish Bishops," was sent to Dr. Carroll that year, together with a letter asking him to communicate it so far as he judged wise to the other American bishops. If the American hierarchy had met in November, 1812, as was decided at their meeting in 1810, a rather interesting situation might have arisen, had the *Resolutions* been considered.³⁴ With Dr. Carroll as a partisan of Bishop Milner, but suspicious, as were most of the American clergy, of Dublin's

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Robert Walsh was Consul-General at Paris (1837-1844), and died in Paris (1859); he was the first to create a successful American *salon* in the French capital.

³⁴ These *Resolutions* will be found in WARD, *Eve, etc.*, vol. ii, pp. 256-262 (Appendix D).

interest in the Church here, the result might have brought the whole question of a Veto before the American Catholic public. How perilously near such a question had come into ecclesiastical affairs here none of them realized; and with the English background to judge from, Carroll's letter to President Madison in November, 1806, concerning the appointment of an administrator to New Orleans, might easily have been made the opening wedge by a less indolent politician.

In June, 1809, Dr. Carroll asked Plowden to extend his "best civilities in favour of a young gentleman, who lately sailed for England. . . . This young gentleman is Mr. Archibald Lee, son of my highly respected friend, Thomas Sim Lee, Esqre., twice governor of Maryland, Member of Congress, etc. Archibald is likewise my Godson and the great nephew of our late Venerable Mr. Thomas Digges. . . ." ³⁵ It would seem that Plowden told young Lee of the report current in London that Dr. Carroll had "expressed some disapprobation of Bishop Milner." ³⁶ The fact was, as Carroll protested, "that I have never expressed a sentiment derogatory to the conduct or character of that most reverend Prelate, that the amount of all which I have heard about him from Mr. Lee was that many of the principal Catholics, ecclesiastics and laymen, had lost confidence in his prudence or consistency." ³⁷ These reports were spread by Father John Ryan, O. P., the friend of the Harolds, who had accompanied William Vincent Harold to Ireland. This is the same John Ryan we find delivering on St. Patrick's day, 1810, in the Cathedral at Cork, a sermon filled with denunciations of the English Catholics, whom he described, with the single exception of Milner, as "a fallen Church." The sermon caused considerable pain to all who were participants in the controversy, and Ryan was obliged to leave Cork, taking refuge with Dr. Troy, in Dublin. ³⁸ Ryan came out to the United States that same year, not with a view of entering the Mission, but to see his sister, then in business in Baltimore. Dr. Carroll no doubt was glad to have the opportunity of discussing the Veto Question with him; and on his return, the

³⁵ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *WARD, Eve, etc.,* vol. i, pp. 141-142, 155-156.

Dominican took advantage of their conversations to discuss Bishop Carroll in a personal interview with Milner. "If they (Ryan and Harold) return here, they must account for their foul representations," Carroll writes to Plowden (December 12, 1813) "before they will be readmitted by me to any function."³⁹ Another charge (made by the two Dominicans) was that Dr. Carroll upheld the Blanchardists. The Blanchardist schism arose in London at the time of the Concordat between Pope Pius VII and Napoleon (1801), and was created by Abbé Blanchard, one of the refugee French priests, who had gone so far in his published writings as to call Pius VII a "material heretic", and in a pamphlet issued in 1808, called upon his readers to denounce Pius VII as unworthy of the Papacy. Milner attacked the Blanchardists in a Pastoral, dated June 1, 1808, ordering prayers for Pius VII, and charging them with scandalous calumnies against the Holy Father. Milner now found himself the centre of attack from the refugee French clergy who sided with Blanchard. Father Ryan's charge and the silence of the American bishops may have induced Bishop Milner to believe that Archbishop Carroll approved the stand of these turbulent French priests, who were disturbing the order of the house of their hosts, the English vicars-apostolic. "It is my intention to write to Bishop Milner," Carroll says in a letter to Plowden (December 12, 1813), "for he could not surely think that I was an upholder of Blanchard. The Bishop and the other VV.AA. have sent to me and my suffragans the statement of their controversy on which it becomes us not to give any opinion."⁴⁰ It would be interesting to see a copy of his letter to Dr. Milner, to whom he wrote in December, 1813, but it has not been found. On February 3, 1814, Carroll wrote again to Plowden:

... I was indignant at the glaring falsehoods of the report made by the two Dominicans, Messrs. Harold and Ryan, to the good Bishop, and others in which, however, I cannot persuade myself that the former, Harold, who always seemed to me a man of real abilities, virtue and honesty, coöperated otherwise, than by being in the company of his friend. Even the latter, tho' he manifested some glaring tokens of insincerity immediately before his departure, I esteemed incapable of so

³⁹ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

much misrepresentations, as appears from Dr. Milner's letter, and of another of your correspondents to you. The misrepresentation did not only comprehend our good Frs. of the Society, who rest in the Lord, and to whom this Diocese owes whatever of religion remains in it, my Rev. Brethren now living and myself, but likewise associates Mr. Lee, then lately returned from Europe, as having traduced Bp. Milner, by representing him as insane, whereas in truth that young gentleman spoke with resentment against some persons in England, who affected to consider him as such. Possibly Mr. Ryan may have delivered himself to that effect in his hearing, or I may have told him what I heard from Mr. Lee: this was the whole foundation of the most disingenuous and very uncivil tale, related to the Bishop. This much I have taken the liberty to repeat from the contents of my preceding letter; as to the other slanders about trafficking in negroes, declension of religion etc., I will no more deign to notice them.⁴¹

To Father Plowden (March 20, 1815), Dr. Carroll wrote on the Veto Question with special reference to the position assumed by the English Jesuits in the controversy, and he deprecates any action on the part of men who are bound by ties of the religious life: "Whether the Pope admits a limited Veto or not, is not the concern of religious men, who are called not to the government of the Church but to labour in it for the salvation of souls and under the authority of its legitimate pastors."⁴² Dr. Carroll experienced great anxiety at the time lest the members of the restored Society in England should be drawn into the controversy. Bishop Milner had proved himself a warm advocate of the Jesuits in the difficult days which followed the Restoration of August 7, 1814, and there was danger that they might be involved in the Veto Question, since it soon became evident that the opponents of the Catholic Emancipation meant to sacrifice the Society of Jesus in case it was necessary.

It is in this letter that Dr. Carroll says: "I have no hesitation in saying to you that the former [*the Irish Bishops*] in my estimation are, in point of ability, far superior to the latter [*the English Bishops*], tho' I entertain a high opinion of the talents of one, who is their advocate and indeed their guide."⁴³ This exception was Charles Butler. Not to know Charles Butler is to be ignorant of all that led up to Catholic Emancipation in 1829;

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

and it is significant that Carroll was broad-minded enough to find praise for Butler's heroic struggle for Catholic freedom, even when he found him at sword's-point with Bishop Milner. Of Charles Butler, Carroll said: "His desire to effect the entire destruction of penal and restricted laws carries him sometimes much too far in his compliance with the views of government."⁴⁴ In his letter of June 24, 1815, to Plowden, Dr. Carroll wrote:

I conclude by intreating you not to encourage our Brethren of the Society to adopt, as a maxim of the body, an adhesion to the Veto or Antiveto system. Let the individuals know the opinions, which they deem most consonant with the practice of former ages under the best and most enlightened Popes, and most useful to the preservation and extension of pure religion; and this liberty of opinion should be maintained, till the Head of the Church has spoken definitely on the subject. My distance, and the principle of this Govt. not to meddle with the doctrines or discipline of the various religious denominations, exempt me from studying the question, or forming an absolute opinion on it, further than this: that if it were possible, which I fear cannot be done, to allow a negative to the King in the nomination of Catholic Bishops without endangering the freedom of election and nomination and introducing servile tools of the ministry to preside over the Cath. churches, the privilege might be allowed in England and Ireland, as has been done in other countries. But when the evasions and impositions of former times are remembered which were practised upon the Catholics of England, and more so of Ireland, one cannot wonder at the distrust now felt of similar promises. Thus far only have I reasoned on this subject. The Pope has a difficult task before him, his obligations to Engd. are great, and tho' there is no doubt of his making all considerations yield to the dictates of his conscience, yet it will be painful to him to offend a Prince, who did so much for his restoration to the chair of St. Peter; especially when so many Catholic clergymen and Laity contend that he may lawfully yield the grant requested.⁴⁵

This is the last reference to the English Catholic situation found in his correspondence with Plowden. Running through all the letters there is a quiet satisfaction which he can hardly repress at times, over the peaceful relations between the State and the Catholic Church in this country. For forty years as priest, and for thirty years as the highest Catholic spiritual leader in the land, he had watched the flock entrusted to him in 1784 grow with the country's growth and strengthen with the nation's progress.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*



BALTIMORE CATHEDRAL

Numbers mean little when such an increase is to be measured in the balance of its power for good and for the welfare of humanity; but even the changed statistics of his *Report* of 1785, with its twenty-four priests and its twenty-five thousand Catholics, to a hierarchy of six dioceses with over twice the number of priests, and nearly four times the number of Catholics, must have cheered him amid all the turmoils of war and the difficulties gratuitously brought to the American Church by aliens, as he faced the setting sun of his life. "I am the only sluggard and do no good" amidst this wonderful growth of the Faith, he wrote to Plowden in the beginning of the year which was to be his last. Through the summer, while the country was recovering from the sharp effects of the war, it was seen that his days were rapidly growing few.

His last public act was to decline the gracious invitation sent to him by the Committee-in-charge to pronounce the chief discourse at the laying of the cornerstone of the Washington Monument, on July 4, 1815. To Father Enoch Fenwick he wrote:

You will not fail to present immediately my very respectful and grateful acknowledgments to Mr. Gilmour and through him to the Gentlemen of the Committee for the distinguished honour done me by their choice of me, as the person designated to open the august ceremony of the Fourth of July, and remind our countrymen of the only true sources of real honor and glory, the moral, civil and military virtues of that illustrious man whose monument will that day begin to be raised, which even without the aid of marble, will remain undefaced and imperishable in the hearts of his fellow-citizens . . . with pride would I obey a call which honours me so much, tho' at all times it would exceed my power to do it justice; but now more particularly at my advanced period of life, and with a half-extinguished voice, I must unavoidably fall so much below the solemnity of the occasion and public expectation, that respect for the supereminent Washington, and for my fellow-citizens compels me to offer my excuse to the Committee.⁴⁶

Archbishop Carroll was taken to Georgetown at this time, with the hope that the change would benefit his health; but early in July, 1815, he returned to Baltimore, and towards the end of November became so feeble that the approaching end of his life was recognized by all about him at St. Peter's. "The best

⁴⁶ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Special C-D10.*

medical aid was summoned, but it was soon evident that there was a general decay of the vital forces arising from the weakness of advanced age." 47 On November 22, 1815, Bishop Neale was sent for from Georgetown to visit the venerable prelate and when it was known that his recovery was despaired of, his illness became the general concern of the city where he had so long enjoyed universal respect, veneration, and esteem. The day following, at six in the evening, Carroll received the last Sacraments in the presence of the clergy of his household and of the seminarians from St. Mary's. After a few moments of thanksgiving, he made a pathetic address to these young Levites on the beauty of the vocation to which they were called. In the Baltimore Cathedral Archives, there is a paper in Maréchal's handwriting describing this affecting scene:

Archbishop Carroll being very sick on the 23d Nov., 1815, he received at six o'clock in the afternoon the last Sacr. Rev. Mr. Fenwick administered to him.

1°. They prepared a table in his room—I crucifix and two candlesticks upon it, and the necessary linen for reposing on it the Blessed Sacrt. The Archb. had his rich stole on and his head uncovered.

2°. Mr. Fenwick accompanied by Mr. Tessier, Moranvillé, Mertz, Maréchal, Joubert, Harent, Babad, Damphoux and five or six seminarians, went into the church to take the Blessed Sacrt. They all went in a procession; at the head of it was two Acolytes, saying the Psalm *Miserere*.

3°. After Mr. Fenwick had given the Sick, Holy Water, he was asked by the Archb. to read the prayers of the administration in Distinct Audible Voice. Then he made a sign that he wanted to speak, which he did in a weak but distinct manner:

"My Reverend Brethren, I have frequently and earnestly begged your prayers, but I beg them particularly at this moment. To all appearances I shall shortly appear before my God and my Judge. Entreat His infinite mercy to forgive me my sins. The abuse I made of His graces and the bad example I may ever have given, the Sacraments I have received without sufficient respect, the days in my life which I ought to have consecrated only to the promotion of His honour and glory. I was appointed to extend His holy religion in this country and to gain over to His service and love multitudes of Souls. Ah! if any (here the Archbishop raised his eyes and hands to Heaven) Ah! if any one should be lost through my fault, beg Heaven to forgive me. I repose all my confidence in the goodness of God and the merits of our

⁴⁷ SHEA, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 674.

dear Lord, J. C. I recommend myself to the powerful intercession of His Blessed Mother and of all the saints, in hope that they will obtain for me the pardon of my offenses.

4°. After this exhortation he received the Blessed Sacrament. . . .

5°. He received Extreme Unction. He did not expect that they would give him that Sacrament. He put on the stole he had already taken off after the prayers were over. He gave his solemn blessing to the assistants, who went away reciting the *Te Deum*.

6°. Tho' sick he seemed to be very fatigued. Too many people were suffered to enter the room. He nearly fainted away and the room had to be cleared.⁴⁸

During the week which followed before his death, he was surrounded by the priests of his household. His sister, who had come from Washington, watched at his bedside. His nephew, Daniel Brent, Consul of the United States at Paris, has given us a page describing his illustrious uncle's last days. Baltimore then as now felt that its archbishop belonged to herself; and all day long a throng of reverent and prayerful friends, among them some of the distinguished Protestant clergymen of the city, came to take a last farewell. "His mind is as vigorous as it ever was," his nephew wrote at the time, "and whenever any person goes to his room, you would be pleased and astonished at his readiness in adapting his conversation and questions to the situation and circumstances of the person introduced. At times he is not only cheerful, but even gay, and he is never impatient or fretful."⁴⁹ Robert Walsh is the authority for the following incident which occurred just before his death.

His life was almost at the last ebb, and his surrounding friends were consulting about the manner of his interment. It was understood that there was a book in his library which prescribed the proper ceremonial, and it was ascertained to be in the very chamber in which he lay. A clergyman went as softly as possible into the room in search of it. He did not find it immediately, and the Archbishop heard his footsteps in the room. Without a word having passed he called to the clergyman, and told him that he knew what he was looking for; that he would find the book in such a position on a certain shelf; and there accordingly it was found.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Case 12-V1 (Copy-book); printed in the *Researches*, vol. xxii, pp. 260-261.

⁴⁹ BRENT, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-208.

⁵⁰ In the *Records* (vol. xxviii, pp. 176-180) there is printed a manuscript, now in the *Catholic Archives of America*, at the University of Notre Dame, which presumably came from the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, containing an account of the last illness

Archbishop John Carroll died on Sunday, December 3, 1815, in his eighty-first year.

On the Tuesday following, the Solemn Mass of Requiem was chanted in St. Peter's pro-Cathedral, and he was laid away in the vault of the Seminary chapel. Here his body remained until the completion of the present Cathedral, when in 1824 it was removed to its present resting-place, beneath the altar of that historic edifice. Shea says:

Posterity has retained the veneration and esteem entertained in this country for Archbishop Carroll, and the calm scrutiny of history in our day recognizes the high estimate of his personal virtues, his purity, meekness, prudence, and his providential work in moulding the diverse elements in the United States into an organized church. His administrative ability stands out in high relief when we view the results produced by others who, unacquainted with the country and the Catholics here, rashly promised themselves to cover the land with the blossoms of peace, but raised only harvests of thorns. With his life of large experience in civil and religious vicissitudes, through whose storms his faith in the mission of the Church never wavered, closed a remarkable period in the history of the Church in the United States.⁶¹

Brent, his first biographer, has collected the sketches of Archbishop Carroll which appeared at the time of his death. Never before in the city of Baltimore was there witnessed a funeral procession "where so many of eminent respectability and standing among us, followed the train of mourners," wrote one eyewitness.

Distinctions of rank, of wealth, of religious opinion, were laid aside in the great testimony of respect to the memory of the man. . . . According to the particular disposition of every one, we heard the venerable Archbishop praised and lamented. The extent of his knowledge and the enlargement of his mind, fastened upon the men of liberal science. The liberality of his character, and his Christian charity, endeared him to his Protestant brethren, with whom he dealt in brotherly love. He was a patriot and loved his native land, nor should Americans forget that his exertions and benedictions as a man and as a Christian prelate were given to the cause and independence of his country.

The praise heaped upon him after his death does not, however, help us to see the man himself. To say that his manners and

and death of Archbishop Carroll. It is nothing more than Walsh's tribute which is quoted here.

⁶¹ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 678.

deportment—to quote one witness—were a model of the clerical character, dignified, yet simple, pious, but not austere—is to picture him as many an ecclesiastic since his day might be pictured. His purity of life, his tenderness to the poor, and his affectionate attachment to all of his Faith and opposing faiths, are the principal notes struck at the time of his death. Robert Walsh gives us an insight into the man himself :

No being that it has ever been our lot to admire, ever inspired us with so much reverence as Archbishop Carroll. The configuration of his head, his whole mien, bespoke the metropolitan. He bore his superior faculties and acquirements, his well-improved opportunities of information and refinement, abroad and at home, his professional rank and his daily honours, we will not say meekly, but so courteously, happily and unaffectedly that while his general character restrained in others all propensity to indecorum or presumption, his presence added to every one's complacency, and produced a universal sentiment of earnest kindness towards the truly amiable and truly exalted companion and instructor. . . . He was wholly free from guile, uniformly frank, generous and placable; he reprobated all intolerance . . . his patriotism was as decided as his piety . . . he entertained no predilection for Great Britain or her government. He loved republicanism; and so far preferred his own country, that if ever he could be excited to impatience or irritated, nothing would have that effect more certainly than the expression of the slightest preference, by any American friend, of foreign institutions or measures. He had joined with heart and judgment in the Revolution; he retained without abatement of confidence or favour, the cardinal principles and American sympathies and hopes upon which he then acted.⁸²

Flaget could write from the pioneer surroundings of Kentucky, when he heard the news of Carroll's death: "This holy man has run a glorious career; he was gifted with a wisdom and prudence which made every one esteem and love him,"⁸³ but then come words of praise that run into panegyric and so spoil the effect of his eulogy. Du Bourg, with whom he had more than one *mauvais quart d'heure* over the project of St. Mary's College, wrote from France, probably from Bordeaux: "He has certainly finished a beautiful and glorious career; and we should rejoice for his sake that God has called him to the recompence of his long labors." Father Grassi in his *Memorie* (1818) has summed up Archbishop Carroll's character in the following words: "To his courtesy of

⁸² Cited by BRENT, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-213.

⁸³ SPALDING, *Flaget*, p. 146.

demeanour was joined a rare goodness of heart, qualities which won him the merited esteem and respect of the public, not only Catholic, but non-Catholic most hostile to the name of Roman Catholic. In the eyes of some he was not cautious enough in his choice of confidants, and he was prone to give in to Protestants more than he should have done, and to appoint trustees over churches when he could have done well without them, and so averted all the troubles which our missionaries suffered at the hands of those same persons, with damage to religion itself."

This, Father Hughes, the Jesuit historian, takes to be a fair estimate of his character.⁵⁴ But John Carroll did not create the trustee system, nor did he approve it; he suffered it because it was necessary as an American legal institution for the protection of church property. Nor did he create all the methods employed by the Corporation of the Clergy to protect the Jesuit estates during the days of the Interim.

But with one phrase from Grassi, the word-picture of America's first bishop might begin—*rare goodness of heart*. "Some may impute to me a too easy credulity," he wrote to Plowden (June 2, 1809), "and the want of discernment in judging of mankind" (at the time of the difficulties between himself and the revived Society), "but I have great difficulty in persuading myself that men whose whole lives have been devoted to the service of religion and who, under trying occasions, have served it successfully, can be acting a false and dishonorable part."⁵⁵ This ingenuousness he never lost until the end. The treachery of priests to whom he confided important posts in the Church of God in this country; the deception practised upon him by influential leaders in the Church; the impossible trustees; and the difficulty he experienced when a foreign vanguard arrived to restore the American province of his old Society—these and other misunderstandings down the years of his leadership never seem to have chilled the natural tenderness of the man's heart or to have blighted the ecclesiastic's optimism.

During the whole of his spiritual reign, he ruled the flock entrusted to him unperturbedly, despite the constant checks upon its progress and its harmony. With the troublesome, the rebel-

⁵⁴ *Op. cit.*, Documents, vol. i, part ii, p. 830, note 46.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 830-831.

lions, the schismatic, and the scandal-giving, he acted with caution and delicacy; but with such firmness that misrule saw no chance to succeed within the borders of his government. Frankness was his chief defect in a world bristling with chicanery and deception. His piety does not obtrude, nor are his letters to his friends channels for the devout expressions so common to a certain kind of religious correspondence. The devout priest of God is often revealed from beneath the pallium which designated his power to rule; as for instance on his death-bed, when he told Father Grassi: "Of those things that give me most consolation at the present moment is, that I have always been attached to the practice of devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary, that I have established it among the people under my care, and placed my Diocese under Her protection."⁶⁶ Archbishop Carroll's last will and testament contain many personal bequests, among them being "four hundred pounds sterling in five per cent stock" for Georgetown College; "four shares of the stock of the Potomac Company" to his nephew, Daniel Brent of Washington, D. C., to whom he bequeathed also "my black servant Charles, to be however manumitted within twelve months after my decease, unless I should do so previously thereto"; his horses, carriages and harness to his sister, Elizabeth Carroll; and to Fathers Enoch Fenwick and Grassi the books he had recently ordered from Louvain.⁶⁷

One unpublished estimate of Archbishop Carroll should be given a place in these pages. It is that by Robert Gilmore, written on May 9, 1844, and sent to the historian, B. U. Campbell: "I was too young when he came to reside here in 1786 to know much about him. It was somewhere between '95 and 1800 that I became intimate with him, from the kindness which he always showed to young people which won their affections. He was so mild and amiable and always cheerful, that we all took delight in his society. My father esteemed him highly, and I have often met him at his table, as well as those of most of the gentlemen in town. He had great conversational powers, derived from his extensive reading and his long stay abroad in England

⁶⁶ *United States Catholic Magazine*, vol. ii, p. 310.

⁶⁷ The will is dated, Baltimore, November 2, 1815 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 11-14; printed in the *Researches*, vol. viii, pp. 52-55).

and on the continent. There were few subjects he was not master of. He enjoyed the pleasures of the table in moderation, and cheerful as he was, he never lost his dignity, but always commanded respect and attention without the slightest appearance of claiming either. It was impossible to treat him with disrespect or even levity, for he had spirit enough to resent any improper liberties taken with him and awed by his manner any approach to impertinence. . . . The Archbishop in fact was a thoroughbred, and a polished gentleman who put everybody at their ease in his company while delighting them with his conversation." ⁸⁸

As the charioteer whom God set over the American Church—so Cheverus had addressed him in 1810 at the establishment of the hierarchy, using as his text the words addressed by Eliseus to Elias—*Pater mi, Pater mi, currus Israel et auriga ejus*. As charioteer he led the army of God through every danger with a courage that none could gainsay, and with a success which is his perennial memory in the annals of the Catholic Faith in the Republic he had helped to create and to mould.

⁸⁸ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Special C-D10.*

CHAPTER XL
CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AIDS

There is no complete bibliographical guide for church history in general or for the general history of the Catholic Church in the United States. The latest contribution to the subject—Mode, *Source Book and Bibliographical Guide for American Church History* (Menesha, Wis., 1921)—is of very minor value to the student of Catholic American history. Dr. Mode speaks of "Rev." John Gilmary Shea; and his selection of references displays not only a vague acquaintance with current Catholic historical literature, but also a lack of technical knowledge of archival source-material. We have for the Catholic Church in the United States no book similar in character to the *Guide to the Study and Reading of American History* by Channing-Hart-Turner (Boston, 1912). It must be remarked however, that this excellent bibliographical work systematically ignores the subject of Catholicism in this country. Finotti's catalogue of 'works written by Catholics and published in these United States' has a misleading title: *Bibliographia Catholica Americana* (New York, 1872), since it includes only works published from 1784 to 1820. The book has, however, a bibliophile interest of a high degree. The bibliography printed in O'Gorman, *History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1907), is compiled without method and shows no discrimination between works written by scholars and those by amateurs. We have not, for example, for the eastern part of the United States, such a critical disquisition on the source-material, as will be found in Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California* (cf. vol. ii, part i, pp. 21-46. San Francisco, 1912). Shea gives no bibliographical list in any of his four volumes on the *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (1886-

1892). His references are not always to be trusted and they are given for the most part without method. The bibliographical guides published in the *Catholic Historical Review* are of two kinds: the "Catholic Encyclopedia" *Diocesan Bibliography*, where under the Dioceses of Baltimore, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Bardstown and New Orleans, a very inadequate list of authorities is printed (cf. vol. iv, pp. 264-265, 267-272, 391-392); and the *Guide to the Biographical Sources of the American Hierarchy*, where under the names of Carroll, Neale, Cheverus, Egan, Flaget, Concanen, Connolly and Du Bourg, archival material as well as printed sources are listed (*Ibid.*, vol. vi). An admirably chosen bibliographical summary, of value for the years of Carroll's life, is in O'Daniel, *Life of Bishop Fenwick*, pp. 445-452 (Washington, D. C., 1921). The *Register and Notices of the Sources*, published in Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal* (Text, vol. i, pp. 1-45; vol. ii, pp. 19-25. New York, 1907-1917), is without doubt one of the most important contributions to Catholic American bibliography in recent years. The range of Father Hughes' searches was world-wide; and, although the *Register* is compiled for the distinct purpose of studying the history of the Jesuits in colonial and national America, the citations are invaluable for the student of this period. The English colonies were (1634-1773) exclusively a Jesuit Mission. The support of the Church during the American Interim (1773-1806) came largely from the revenues of the incorporated Jesuit estates; and during the remaining years of Carroll's life (1806-1815), the restored Society had almost reached its former prestige as the chief missionary body in the country. Hughes' two lists of books on American Catholic life is the most complete published up to the present day. The best general description of works on American Catholic history is that contained in Shahan, *L'Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique aux Etats-Unis* in the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* (Louvain), vol. i, pp. 679-684. Bishop Shahan has classified the writings in American Church history under the following heads: *Relations with the Holy See; Conciliar Legislation; History of the Missions; State of the Clergy; Catholic Press; Catholic Historical Societies; and Archival Depots*. "Rien ne nous manque," he says at the end of his essay,

"tant qu'une bibliographie générale de notre histoire ecclésiastique." The members of the American Church History Seminar at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., have in preparation a *Guide to the Printed Sources for American Church History*, which will include all printed documents, books, and periodical material on the history of the Catholic Church within the present borders of the United States, from 1492 to 1920.

LIVES OF CARROLL

The earliest Life of Carroll is that by Brent, *Biographical Sketch of the Most Rev. John Carroll, First Archbishop of Baltimore, with Select Portions of his Writings* (Baltimore, 1843). This is a hastily compiled account of little historical worth and of no literary value. It contains a few letters which are now lost, but it cannot be wholly trusted. Bernard U. Campbell published a series of articles entitled *Memoirs of the Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll*, in the *United States Catholic Magazine* (Baltimore), vol. iii (1844), pp. 32-41, 98-101, 169-176, 244-248, 363-379, 662-669, 718-724; vol. v (1846), pp. 595-601, 676-679; vol. vi (1847), pp. 31-34, 100-104, 144-148, 434-436, 482-485, 592-599; vol. vii (1848), pp. 91-106. From letters now in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives Special C-D, 1-10), it is evident that Campbell pursued his subject in a systematic and methodical manner. His queries to those then living who were able to enlighten him on the events of Carroll's episcopate, are clearly those of a scholar, and it is to be regretted that he never completed his work. (Our citations in these pages to the *United States Catholic Magazine* are to Campbell's *Memoirs*.) From Campbell's time down to that of John Gilmary Shea, no attempt seems to have been made to study Carroll's life. Shea's volume, *The Life and Times of the Most Reverend John Carroll* (being vol. ii of his *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*), was published at New York in 1888. Shea used the Baltimore Cathedral Archives, and secured copies in Rome and elsewhere of many of the documents necessary for his subject. These now form the *Shea Transcripts* in the Georgetown College Archives. Shea was a pioneer in this field and one of the earliest of our

historians to recognize the necessity of going back to the sources. As the father of American Church history, Shea's volumes are a monument to himself and to his inspirers. Here and there, in his *Life of Archbishop Carroll*, he has marred his work with bias, and occasionally the former Jesuit scholastic prevails over the historian. His method is somewhat haphazard, and the chronological rigidity which prevails in his *Life of Carroll* often produces curious juxtapositions of facts and persons. Shea wrote quickly; too quickly, for accurate scholarship; but a comparison of the sources he possessed with the numerous letters and documents he failed to notice, or which have been since brought to light both here and abroad, reveals more than anything else the man's mastery in this difficult field. It was not that he allowed his imagination to fill the lacunæ which can be detected today in his pages, but that he was almost invariably correct in his deductions. Hughes has stated: "Nothing could be more at variance with the principles and practice of critical editing in our days, than Shea's open confession that 'at the solicitations of a venerated friend, I have given the authorities in my notes, although scholars generally have been compelled to abandon the plan by the dishonesty of those who copy references and pretend to have consulted books and documents they never saw and frequently could not read.'" (*op. cit.*, Text, vol. i, Preface, p. 11). We have traveled far from this sentiment in critical historical scholarship. Shea's *Life of Carroll* has never been popular for the reason that it is not readable. The first and essential law of biography is that a man's life should flow continually from birth to death like a river. To describe an assemblage of facts, strung together by a chronological thread, is not the fluent narrative of biography. This is Shea's great failing, just as his great virtue is a well-balanced devotion for his subject, of which biographers in general do not always give evidence. Since the publication of Shea's work, Catholic historical writers in the United States have simply been repeating his pages; and, as he himself expressed it in several of his letters, they have been content to plagiarize his *Life and Times* without giving him due credit. Among these volumes, based almost exclusively on Shea, may be mentioned: Clarke, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States*, vol. i, pp. 32-113. (New York, 1888); and

Reuss, *Biographical Cyclopaedia of the Catholic Hierarchy in the United States* (Milwaukee, 1898).

UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

The source-material still existing in archival depots for the period embraced in Carroll's lifetime (1735-1815) is so widely scattered that the student who is unable to visit these centres must depend to a large extent upon the Guides which have been published for this purpose. Broadly considered, the archival material for the period under study was found in the following places:

1. *Rome*—a).—At the head of the Roman collections may be placed the General Archives of the Society of Jesus, although these were removed from Rome some years ago. Hughes has given us an excellent general account of these archives in his *History, etc.*, Text, (vol. i, pp. 9-13), and his second chapter tells in detail the history of the collection and the use made of it up to his time. So far as these General Archives were necessary for this work, the documents needed for this Life of Carroll were to be found in the two volumes published by Hughes, entitled *Documents*, and in Foley's *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (London, 1877-1883). b).—The next collection, of the greatest importance to our subject, is the Propaganda Archives. A general sketch of these archives will be found in Pieper's article in the *Römische Quartalschrift* (vol. i, pp. 80-99, 259-265). The first attempt at the catalogue of all the papers relating to American history is that contained in Fish, *Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and other Italian Archives*, pp. 119-195 (Washington, D. C., 1911). Through the generosity of friends, John Gilmary Shea was enabled to have a large number of these papers transcribed for his *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*. These are now housed in the Georgetown College Archives. Personal research work extending over a long period, forced upon me the conclusion that transcribers as a body were highly unreliable; and so through the generosity of several friends, I had all the documents used by Shea, and many others which had escaped his notice, photographed. This collection of photostat copies is sup-

plemented by another valuable collection in the possession of the Dominicans at Washington, D. C., made some years ago under the personal supervision of Rev. Victor F. O'Daniel, O.P. It is not necessary to subjoin here a table of the contents of the documents used in these volumes. The general division of the Propaganda Archives (*Atti; Scritture originali riferite; Scritture non riferite; Lettere*, of which there are 225 volumes for the years 1669-1795; *Udienze; Istruzioni; Miscellanea*, etc.), is one of convenience rather than of historical merit. The catalogue given by Fish is incomplete; and occasionally the papers are cited in a way that might have been avoided, had the author been more familiar with American Catholic history.

2. *Baltimore*—a).—After the Propaganda Archives, the most valuable collection for Carroll's life is the Baltimore Cathedral Archives. Through the kindness of the late Cardinal Gibbons, and with the help of the Archivist, I was enabled to make the fullest use of these documents. With but very few exceptions, all the papers relating to Carroll's episcopate are in an excellent state of preservation and are well cared for. Though the main divisions are made by the episcopates. (Carroll, Neale, Maréchal, etc.), the order in the arrangement of the papers is an arbitrary one. The boxes containing the papers for our subject (1735-1815) are divided as follows: I. *Letters to Archbishop Carroll* (Case 1 A-B, Case 2 B-C, Case 3 D-E-F-G, Case 4 H-J-K-L, Case 5 L-M-N-O, Case 6 O-P, Case 7 R-S, Case 8 S-T-U-V-W-X-Y-Z); II. *Supplement: Letters to Archbishop Carroll* (Case 8A A-Z, Case 8B A-Z); III. *Letters from Archbishop Carroll* (Case 9 A-Z); IV. *Letters from and Manuscripts of Archbishop Carroll* (Case 9A A-Z); V. *Administration of Archbishop Carroll* (Case 10, Case 11, Case 11A, Case 11B, Documents, Papers, etc.); VI. *Special* (Case A A-Z, Case B A-Z, Case C A-Z); VII. *Letter Books*—3 volumes. The research student must bear in mind, however, that the initials have no reference to the writers; the division by letters being merely for the purpose of cataloguing. Each initial letter is followed by a number, e. g., Case 1-A3, Case 8A-R2, and in this way the references given furnish a ready means of finding the document in question. The system is not an ideal one, and is quite different from the usual method employed in archival economy;

but with documents of this nature it is practical. At the present time these ample archives are being reorganized under the care of the Cathedral clergy, who have taken great interest in the preservation of these precious *monumenta* of America's oldest See. b).—Baltimore contains another collection, the Maryland-New York Provincial Archives of the Society of Jesus, but they pertain mainly to financial matters connected with the old Jesuit properties. Hughes has published from this collection the principal documents necessary for our subject. There are in these archives two folio transcripts (pp. 98, 34) containing copies of some American documents in the Stonyhurst Collection. These Shea used for his *Life of Carroll*. Through the kindness of the English Jesuit historian, Father John Hungerford Pollen, copies of all the letters from Carroll to Plowden, Strickland, and others, now in the Stonyhurst Archives, were made for this present work. (They are referred to in these pages as *Stonyhurst Archives*.)

3. *Georgetown*.—The Georgetown College Archives are the best arranged of all the ecclesiastical collections in the United States. The main division is that of *Manuscripts* and *Transcripts*. The *Transcripts* are those made for B. U. Campbell and for John Gilmary Shea. The *Shea Transcripts* are of two kinds: those from Rome and from other centres. As has already been indicated, these *Transcripts* are now supplemented by the photostat copies in my possession. Too often it was my experience while at work in the Vatican and Propaganda Archives to find mistakes in Italian documents transcribed by Italians who make a profession of copying in these centres.

4. *London*.—a).—The Westminster Diocesan Archives (Cardinal-Archbishop's House, London), contain a few documents of importance for the period during which the Vicars-Apostolic of London ruled the Catholics in the English colonies (1685-1784). Shea had this collection searched when he was writing his *History*, but the manuscripts were not in good order at the time (1887). The present writer published in the *Catholic Historical Review* (vol. v, pp. 387-401), a catalogue of these Westminster papers which related to the United States. In the *Guide to the Manuscripts for the History of the United States to 1783*, in the *British Museum*, in *Minor London Archives*, and in the *Libraries*

of *Oxford and Cambridge*, by Charles M. Andrews and Francis G. Davenport (Washington, 1908), there is a short list of documents (twenty in all) from these archives, relating to American Catholic history before 1783. In 1914, when I worked among these papers, the Westminster Diocesan Archives were divided as follows: (1) Thirty-seven bound volumes of original documents concerning the Church in England and the English colonies from 1509 to 1700; (2) many bundles of unbound documents, not then classified, covering the later period, 1700-1850; (3) pamphlets and other manuscripts. There was also in manuscript a catalogue for the bound volumes, made by the late Father Stanton of the Oratory. The two historical students who have made most use of these Archives are Bishop Ward and Canon Burton. In a letter dated October 12, 1918, Bishop Ward wrote to me from Brentwood to say that he did not remember having seen many papers relating to America. The period he studied began in 1781; and Canon Burton has given us all that he found in his chapter on *Bishop Challoner's American Jurisdiction (1758-1781)*. b).—The Archives of the Old Brotherhood of the English Clergy, formerly the English Chapter. These were (in 1914) in the possession of the Secretary of the Old Brotherhood, the late Rev. Raymond Stanfield, at Hammersmith. There is a catalogue of these Archives in the Fifth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission (1876, pp. 463-476); but it is far from being complete. The writer has in his possession a MS. catalogue of these Archives given to him by the late Superior of the Oblates of St. Charles, Bayswater, London.

5. *Quebec*.—In Parker, *Guide to the Materials for United States History in Canadian Archives* (Washington, D. C., 1906), the research-student will find a section (pp. 224-270) devoted to the Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec, compiled by the Rev. Dr. Zwierlein of St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, New York. These Archives are described by the late Canon Lindsay in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* (Philadelphia), vol. xviii, pp. 8-11, and almost all the documents relating to American Catholic history, especially of Carroll's day, have been published by Lindsay in the *Records* (cf. vols. xviii, xx, xxv). Other documents from this depot will be found in the *American Historical Review*, vol. xiv, pp. 552-556, and in the

Illinois Historical Collections, vol. v, pp. 534, 547, 586, 590. I am particularly indebted to the Rev. Dr. Browne, of the Catholic University of America, for collating some of these papers and especially for the discovery of one letter which escaped the notice of other research-students.

6. *Philadelphia*—The Archival Department of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia contains in its rich storehouse of documents for American Catholic history many letters and manuscripts, which have fortunately been made available through the *Researches* and *Records*. No more systematic and scholarly work has ever been attempted for the Catholic history of the United States than that accomplished during the past thirty-eight years by the members of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia. The reader has but to glance through these pages to see how frequent are the references to the late Mr. Griffin's *Researches*, and to the printed *Records* of this Society. This group of Philadelphia students has never been unfaithful to its original design of 1884: that of creating a national archival centre for the preservation of the materials of our Catholic history, and its thirty-odd volumes of published articles and documents are a veritable delight to the student.

7. *Diocesan Archives*—The Diocesan Archives of Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Bardstown (Louisville) St. Louis, and New Orleans, were not of much help for this work. The New York Diocesan Archives contain practically nothing before the episcopate of John Hughes (1842-1864); the Philadelphia Diocesan Archives contain little prior to the episcopate of Francis Patrick Kenrick (1830-1851). All the papers of importance for this *Life* in the Boston Diocesan Archives have either been published in the *Records*, or are to be found in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives, which contain many letters from Poterie, Rousselet, Cheverus, Matignon and others.

8. *Catholic Archives of America*—This unique collection at the University of Notre Dame was the life-work of the late Professor James Farnham Edwards, of that institution. Edwards was one of the first to appreciate the neglect shown for the documents of the past; and he started on a missionary tour through the United States, begging for these historical materials. The

fruits of his labours are far greater than is known, and he must have possessed rare eloquence to have succeeded as he did. Edwards knew better than any living Catholic of his day the sad story of neglect, of voluntary burning, and of wanton destruction of the early *monumenta* of our Church. One such instance is recorded by the Rev. Dr. Foik, C.S.C., the custodian of these archives:

Bernard Campbell, the historian, who began the life of Archbishop Carroll in the *United States Catholic Magazine*, collected and studied for years; he obtained many documents from Bishop Fenwick, the second Bishop of Boston, and from Rev. George Fenwick. Mr. Campbell thus gathered a remarkable collection of material concerning the Church in this country. At his death his wife placed these manuscripts in a trunk, and as she traveled much, she carried the papers with her and preserved them for a considerable length of time, expecting to find some one who would realize the value of the papers and endeavor to procure them. But, unfortunately, no interest was taken in the collection and she burnt them. (Cf. *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. i, p. 64.)

The loss of the New Orleans Archives during the occupation of that city by General Butler (1862) is an irreparable one. The St. Louis Diocesan Archives are in a fair state of preservation in the Old Cathedral of that city. They form the nucleus of the documents being studied by the St. Louis Catholic Historical Society and many of them have been published in the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*.

9. *Washington, D. C.—a*.—The Dominican Archives (Archives of St. Joseph's Dominican Province) consist of a well-catalogued collection, made by the Dominican historian, Rev. Victor F. O'Daniel, O.P. These are housed in the Dominican House of Studies at the Catholic University of America. They are photostat copies from Rome (Propaganda Archives, Archives of the Dominican Master-General, Archives of the Irish Dominicans of San Clemente); from England (Archives of the Dominicans of Haverstock Hill); from Ireland (Dublin Archiepiscopal Archives, Archives of the Dominicans of Tallaght); and from various other centres. O'Daniel has made a scholarly use of these Archives in his *Life of Bishop Fenwick* (Washington, D. C., 1921) and in his studies in the *Catholic Historical Review*. All these documents were graciously placed at our disposal for

this work. b).—The archival collection in my own possession (Rome, Vienna, Munich, Simancas, Seville, Paris and London) is already an ample one, and has recently been enriched through permission granted by the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide to have all the Propaganda documents, dealing with the church history of the United States, photographed by a competent archivist. At the present time, these copies are finished down to the year 1840.

PUBLISHED SOURCES

Foremost among the collections of published sources for American Catholic history is the series of quarterly volumes, the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, to which reference has already been made. Next in order of importance come the twenty-nine volumes of the *American Catholic Historical Researches* (1884-1912), published by that indefatigable research-student, Martin I. J. Griffin. Griffin's printed collection is a mine of documentary material; and though lacking in that scholarship which would have resulted in a far more careful reading of the papers he published, he will always rank among those who had few equals in their sincere love for the historical past of the Church in this country. An *Index* to the *Researches* (1884-1912) was published by the Society (Philadelphia, 1916), but it is not always accurate and appears to have been done somewhat hastily. Whenever possible in these pages we have given reference to the *Researches*, though in practically all cases, the original has been seen and is cited; hence, the differences of reading which appear at times between the printed copy in Griffin's collections and in these pages. The fifth volume of Raphael de Martinis, *Jus Pontificium de Propaganda Fide* (Rome, 1892), contains a few documents, especially the *Ex debito pastoralis* and the *Pontificii muneris* of April 8, 1808, dividing the Diocese of Baltimore. (Both documents contain typographical errors.) On two occasions we endeavoured to secure the *Woodstock Letters*; but these volumes are considered of such an intimate and family nature that the request was not granted. In a library abroad, however, we found a complete set of these volumes (1872—) and had an index of the same compiled. Shea used

this collection. The Catholic historical reviews (*Acta et Dicta*, of St. Paul; the *Maine Catholic Historical Magazine*; the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*; the *Historical Records and Studies*, New York, and the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*) contain many documents which have never been printed before; and the department of documents in the *Catholic Historical Review* (Catholic University of America) published a series of original papers, chief of which are Flaget's *Report on the Diocese of Bardstown*, April 10, 1815 (*ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 305-319), and Maréchal's *Report on the Diocese of Baltimore*, October 16, 1818 (*ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 439-453). The documents from the Simancas Archives relating to the founding of St. Peter's Church, New York City (1785), will be found in the *Catholic Historical Review* (vol. i, pp. 68-77); those relating to the appointment of Concanen to the See of New York (1808-1810), will be found *ibid.*, (vol. ii, pp. 73-82); the Scioto documents, *ibid.*, (vol. ii, pp. 195-204); the Oneida bishopric project, *ibid.*, (vol. iii, pp. 79-89); the Propaganda documents on the Jesuit Missions of the United States (1773) are in vol. ii, pp. 316-320; and scattered through the Notes and Comments of the first six volumes of the *Review* are many original sources published there for the first time. An indispensable series of documents for this period is that selected by Carl Russell Fish and published in the *American Historical Review* (July, 1910, pp. 801-829) under the title: *Documents relative to the adjustment of the Roman Catholic organization in the United States to the Conditions of National Independence (1783-1789)*. The late Jesuit historian, Father E. I. Devitt, S.J., of Georgetown, published translations of these under the caption: *Propaganda Documents: Appointment of the First Bishop of Baltimore*, in the *Records*, December, 1910. (We have referred to these as the *Fish-Devitt Transcripts*).

Among other collections of published sources the following have proved of value for the history of Carroll's episcopate: the *American Archives* (the fourth volume, published by Peter Force, Washington, 1837); the *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1906); the *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883); the *Fund Publications* of the Maryland Historical Society; Brodhead, *Documents Relative to the Colonial His-*

tory of New York (Albany, 1856-1861, eleven vols.); O'Callaghan, *Documentary History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1849-1851, four vols.); Perry, *Historical Collections relating to the American (Episcopal) Church* (Hartford, 1870-1878).

None of these, however, can be compared in value to the documents published by Hughes in his *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal*. The two volumes, entitled *Documents*, contain original papers from 1605 to 1838, and without this rich collection, it would have been impossible to complete this work. Foley's *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (eight vols., London, 1877-1883) is of special value to the American Church historian, particularly the volumes entitled *Collectanea*, which contain biographical sketches of all the Jesuits of the Province. Gillow's *Biographical Dictionary of English Catholics* (five vols., London, 1898) is more than its title would imply, since many references to unpublished material are given, and some of these sources are cited. Oliver's *Collections towards Illustrating the Biography of the Scotch, English, and Irish Members of the Society of Jesus* (London, 1901) supplements the work of Foley. Dilhet's *État de Église ou du Diocèse des États-Unis*, which has remained in manuscript during the past hundred years, has recently been translated and published by the Rev. Dr. Browne (Quebec, 1922).

GENERAL WORKS

Entering upon a course of study in the history of Catholicism in the United States, the student soon finds himself confined to a very small number of books. Of general histories of the Church in this country, there is but one which pretends to offer a complete narrative—*The History of the Catholic Church in the United States* by John Gilmary Shea (New York, 1886-1892); of special histories, limited by either time, place or idea, very few do more than copy from the volumes of Shea. In the Preface of his first volume, which carries the story of Catholicism from the days of Columbus down to the end of the French and Indian War (1492-1763), Shea describes the projects for such a general history which had been outlined up to his day. The earliest of these is that of Bishop Bruté, of the Diocese of

Vincennes (now Indianapolis), a work to be called *Catholic America*, which was "to give an outline of the history of the Church in South America, Mexico, Central America and Canada, before taking up the annals of religion in the Thirteen Colonies and under the Republic. The sketch would have been necessarily very brief, and from the heads of chapters, as given by him, would have been mainly contemporary." So far as is known, Bishop Bruté never began the actual composition of this work. No mention of it is found in Bayley, *Memoirs of Bishop Bruté* (New York, 1865), or in Bruté de Remur, *Vie de Mgr. Bruté de Remur, premier évêque de Vincennes* (Rennes, 1887). In the Baltimore Cathedral Archives (Special C-O1) there is a map of the Catholic Church in 1815 by Bishop Bruté, which is reproduced in this work; and in the same Archives (Special C-G1), under date of May 23, 1821, there is in Bruté's hand a paper entitled *Synoptica Tabula gestorum in Americae Catholica Ecclesia per Clerum Gallum a saeculo decimo quinto ad praesens usque decimum nonum*. Another valuable map of the Kentucky missions (by Badin) is in these Archives (Special C-L1). The Rev. Dr. Charles I. White, the biographer of Mother Seton, also proposed to write a history of the Church in this country, and with Campbell collected a mass of source-material for that purpose. Shea says that "he never actually wrote any part of his projected work, nothing having been found among his papers except a sketch of his plan." Dr. White contributed to the English translation of Darras, *General History of the Church* (New York, 1865), an Appendix (vol. v, pp. 599-662) entitled: *Sketch of the Origin and Progress of the Catholic Church in the United States*. It is this *Sketch* which has given life to many legends about John Carroll, which are still current in American Catholic circles.

The first noteworthy contribution to the general ecclesiastical history of the United States appeared in the Paris *Univers*, from the pen of Henri De Courcy de la Roche Héron. During De Courcy's sojourn in this country, John Gilmary Shea placed at his disposal all the historical material he had gathered up to that time, and after the articles ceased in the *Univers*, Shea translated them and put them into book form: *History of the Catholic Church in the United States from the earliest Settlement to the*

Present Time, with Biographical Sketches, Accounts of the Religious Orders, Councils, etc. (New York, 2d edition, 1879). "This volume," Shea wrote in 1892, "has been for some thirty years the most comprehensive account accessible of the history of the Church in this country." De Courcy treated only a limited part of the subject, however, and immediately after the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore (1884), the Fathers of the Council commissioned Dr. Shea to fulfil his long-cherished desire of writing and publishing a complete *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*. At the time of Shea's death, Archbishop Corrigan, his Mæcenas, wrote: "No one could have brought to the task a better preparation—unremitting study of a lifetime; a greater devotion to the cause, or more painstaking attention to accuracy of detail. The Church in the United States owes to his memory a deep debt of gratitude. Future historians will find in his lifelong researches a mine of wealth, and generations to come will rise up and call him blessed." John Gilmary Shea had begun his historical publications at the age of fourteen, when in 1838 he contributed a striking historical portrait of Cardinal Albornoz to the *Young People's Catholic Magazine*. His first classic study was the *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley* (New York, 1852). There followed his *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States (1529-1854)* (New York, 1854); his twenty-six small volumes entitled the *Cramoisy Series*, begun in 1857; and *The Hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1886). The preparation of the *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* can really be said to have begun as far back as 1837, when he became a clerk in a Spanish merchant's office in New York City. The first volume of his *History* appeared in 1886, the second in 1888, the third in 1890, and the last chapter of the fourth volume was finished on his deathbed, in February, 1892. Shea's *History* covers the years 1492 down to 1866. He left considerable material for the years which follow down to his later days, and through the generosity and historical-mindedness of the Society of Jesus, his manuscripts, papers, and library, were purchased and are now safely housed in the Georgetown Archives and in the Riggs Library. A considerable collection of Shea's materials for the history of the Church from 1866 down to 1890 is said to be in the

possession of a Philadelphia publisher. Thomas D'Arcy McGee's *Catholic History of North America* (Boston, 1853) is a series of five discourses, delivered in the winter of 1853-1854, and is hardly more than a sketch-book of a literary writer of talent, written under the Catholic reaction to the anti-foreign politics of that day. Another volume of a general nature is John O'Kane Murray, *A Popular History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1876). Of little historical value because of its many inaccuracies, Murray's volume contains some excellent appendices on various aspects of Catholicism in the United States, particularly on the problem of loss and gain in the American Church. O'Gorman's *History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1895), is a serviceable manual. The Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur published in 1911 a *Brief History of the Catholic Church in the United States* for use in Catholic Schools, compiled chiefly from Shea. This little compendium, much marred by inaccuracies, contains four ecclesiastical maps which will not be found elsewhere. To the Franciscan Sisters of La Crosse, Wisconsin, we owe two volumes: *Our Country in Story*, intended for use in the fifth and sixth grades of our elementary schools (Chicago, 1917), and a *History of the United States for Catholic Schools* (Chicago, 1914), which is valuable for the emphasis it places on the Catholic background to American history. The latest addition to these general works is the excellent manual by McCarthy, *History of the United States* (New York, 1919), wherein the conspicuous facts of our religious history, of special interest and importance to Catholics, are included.

For the political history of the United States during the period contained in this work (1735-1815) we have found the first twelve volumes of *The American Nation: A History*, published under the editorship of Albert Bushnell Hart (New York, 1900) of good service. This is especially true of vol. i, Cheyney, *European Background of American History*, and of vol. vi, Greene, *Colonial Commonwealths*.

SPECIAL WORKS

These may be divided into five classes: 1. *Provincial Histories*; 2. *Diocesan Histories*; 3. *Parochial Histories*; 4. *Histories of the Religious Orders*; 5. *Ecclesiastical Biographies*.

1. *Provincial Histories*

For the Archdiocese of Baltimore, no such work has been written. The Archdiocese of Philadelphia has found its historian in Monsignor J. L. J. Kirlin, whose *Catholicity of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1909) is based on archival and printed sources; though not professedly a history of the province, it has many pages devoted to the activities of the early missionaries in Pennsylvania. The best history of this class is the *History of the Church in New England* (two vols., Boston, 1899) which comprises the Archdiocese of Boston. It is written by different authors, and furnishes a model for works of a similar nature. *The History of the Catholic Church in New York*, by Rev. Dr. John Talbot Smith (two vols., New York, 1905), begins with the foundation of that metropolitan See in 1808. No history of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, of which the Diocese of Bardstown-Louisville is a part, has yet been begun; Lamott's *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati (1821-1921)* deals only with the Diocese of Cincinnati (Cincinnati, 1921).

2. *Diocesan Histories*.

A list of these will be found in the *Catholic Historical Review* (vol. iv, pp. 264-273, 389-393, 542-546). The five dioceses which comprised the Archbishopric of Baltimore during Carroll's rule (1808-1815)—Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Bardstown, and New Orleans (Louisiana), are treated in detail in the works cited above. Special reference, however, should be made to the following: a).—for Baltimore—Riordan, *Cathedral Records from the beginning of Catholicity in Baltimore to the Present Time* (Baltimore, 1906), which is one of the scholarly productions of recent years, and a work of value for the Life and Times of Carroll. The author has made a generous and critical use of the Baltimore

Cathedral Archives, and his volume is one of the best diocesan histories we possess. Stanton, *History of the Church in Western Maryland* (Baltimore, 1900) supplements for that part of the Diocese the work of Riordan. The *Concilia Provincialia Baltimori habita ab anno 1829 ad 1849* (Baltimore, 1851), contains the *Statuta* of the Synod of 1791 and the Agreement of 1810. b).—for Richmond there is Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond* (Richmond, 1906). c).—for Charleston, the student should consult England, *The Early History of the Diocese of Charleston*, in his *Works* (vol. iv, pp. 307 ss; Messmer edition, Cleveland, 1908); and O'Connell, *Catholicity in the Carolinas and Georgia* (New York, 1867). d).—for the other dioceses of what was then the sole Diocese of Baltimore, namely, Wheeling, Savannah, Wilmington, Del., St. Augustine and the Vicariate of North Carolina, no special histories of value can be cited. e).—for the dioceses, once included in the sole Diocese of New York, that is, Albany, Buffalo, Brooklyn, Newark, Rochester, Ogdensburg, Trenton and Syracuse, the following are useful: Bayley, *Brief Sketch of the Early History of the Catholic Church on the Island of Manhattan* (New York, 1854); Flynn, *The Catholic Church in New Jersey* (Morristown, 1904); Timon, *Missions in Western New York* (Buffalo, 1862); Donahue, *History of the Catholic Church in Western New York* (Buffalo, 1904); Mulrenan, *A Brief Sketch of the Catholic Church on Long Island* (New York, 1871); Smith, *History of the Diocese of Ogdensburg* (New York, 1885); Leahy, *The Diocese of Trenton* (Princeton, 1907); Hewitt, *History of the Diocese of Syracuse* (Syracuse, 1909). f).—for the history of the dioceses once included in the original Diocese of Bardstown, namely, Louisville, Nashville, Covington, Columbus, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit, Grand Rapids, Marquette, Superior, Green Bay, Milwaukee, La Crosse, Duluth, Crookston, St. Cloud, St. Paul, Chicago, Rockford, Peoria, Alton, Belleville, Fort Wayne, and Indianapolis, the following works have been consulted: McCann, *History of Mother Seton's Daughters* (2 vols., New York, 1917); *Die katholischen Kirchen und Institute in Cincinnati* (Cincinnati, 1889); Spalding, *Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions in Kentucky (1787-1827)* (Louisville, 1846); Webb, *Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky* (Louisville, 1884); Badin,

Origine et Progrès de la Mission du Kentucky (Paris, 1821); Maes, *History of the Catholic Church in Monroe City and County, Michigan* (Monroe, 1885); Alerding, *History of the Catholic Church in Vincennes, now Indianapolis* (Indianapolis, 1883); the *History of Fifty Years* (Diocese of Columbus), 1918; Henning, *The Catholic Church in Wisconsin* (Milwaukee, 1898); Houck, *The Catholic Church in the Diocese of Cleveland* (2 vols., Cleveland, 1903); Rezek, *History of the Diocese of Sault Sainte Marie and Marquette* (2 vols., Houghton, 1906-1907); Beuckmann, *History of the Diocese of Belleville* (Belleville, 1914); Schaeffer, *History of the Diocese of St. Paul* in *Acta et Dicta*, vol. iv, pp. 32-71; Garraghan (Rev. Gilbert J., S.J.), *The Catholic Church in Chicago (1673-1871): An Historical Sketch* (Chicago, 1921), which ranks easily as the best diocesan history we have. g).—for the other dioceses once included in the original Diocese of Philadelphia, that is, Pittsburgh, Erie, Harrisburg, Scranton, and Altoona, the following, besides Kirlin's volume, has been consulted: Lambing, *The History of the Diocese of Pittsburgh and Allegheny* (New York, 1880). h).—for the dioceses once contained within the borders of Bishop Du Bourg's original diocese, the following were consulted: Thornton, *Historical Sketch of the Church in St. Louis*; Walsh, *Jubilee Memoirs* (St. Louis, 1891); *Catholic History of Alabama and the Floridas* (New York, 1908); *History of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of San Antonio* (San Antonio, 1897).

3. *Parochial Histories.*

The number today of these is legion, and they need not be mentioned in detail in this section, since few of them are based on first-hand information. The exceptions are Frederick, *Old St. Peter's, or the Beginnings of Catholicity in Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1911); Hertkorn, *Retrospect of Holy Trinity Parish* (1789-1914); McGowan, *Historical Sketch of St. Augustine's Church, Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1896), and Devitt, *Boston's First Catholic Church (1798-1801)* in the *Records*, vol. xv, pp. 35-45.

4. *Histories of Religious Orders (1790-1815).*

The late Bishop Currier published in 1904, *A History of the Religious Orders in the United States*, but the work is of little

historical value; Dehey's *Religious Orders of Women in the United States* (Chicago, 1913), while of secondary value, has the advantage of having been compiled under the direction of the superiors of the communities contained in the volume; Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche*, (3 vols., Paderborn, 1907), contains numerous references to the American religious communities.

A.—*Jesuits*: Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal*. The two volumes, entitled *Text*, contain the history of the American Jesuits from 1580 to 1773. The method followed by Hughes is quite disparate from that of Astrain, Fouqueray, Tacchi-Venturi, etc., who have written the history of other national bodies of the Society. Brucker, *La Compagnie de Jésus* (Paris, 1921); and especially Campbell, *The Jesuits*, 2 vols. (New York, 1921).

B.—*Augustinians*: Nothing has been written on the general history of the Order in the United States, except McGowan's little history of St. Augustine's Parish (Philadelphia), the cradle of the Augustinians in this country, *Historical Sketch of St. Augustine's Church, Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1896).

C.—*Dominicans*: O'Daniel's studies in the *Catholic Historical Review*, which have been cited and his *Life of Bishop Fenwick*, are indispensable for the history of the Dominicans in this country.

D.—*Trappists*: No complete story of the wandering of this community has as yet been written. The best account is that by Flick, *French Refugee Trappists in the United States*, in the *Records*, vol. i, pp. 86-116.

E.—*Sulpicians*: Herbermann, *The Sulpicians in the United States* (New York, 1916) gives an account of the growth of the Society of St. Sulpice in this country, though it is marred by occasional inaccuracies.

F.—*Ursuline Sisters*: *The Ursulines in Louisiana, 1727-1824* (New Orleans, 1886).

G.—*Carmelite Nuns*: Currier, *Carmel in America* (New York, 1906).

H.—*Visitation Nuns*: Lathrop, *A Story of Courage: Annals of the Georgetown Convent of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, from the Manuscript Records* (Cambridge, 1895).

I.—*Sisters of Charity*: McCann, *History of Mother Seton's Daughters: The Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati, Ohio (1809-1917)*, 2 vols. (New York, 1917). Apart from the biographical sketches of Mother Seton, the Emmitsburg Mother-House has published no complete history of this community.

J.—*Sisters of Charity of Nazareth*: McGill, *Sisters of Charity of Nazareth* (New York, 1917).

K.—*Sisters of Loretto Foot of the Cross*: Minogue, *Loretto Annals of the Century* (New York, 1912).

EPISCOPAL BIOGRAPHIES (1790-1815)

1. *Carroll*: The Lives by Brent, Campbell, and Shea have been already mentioned. 2. *Neale*: (M. S. Pine) *A Glory of Maryland* (New York, 1917). 3. *Flaget*: Spalding, *Sketches of the Life of Rt. Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget* (Louisville, 1852). 4. *Cheverus*: Walsh, *Life of Cardinal De Cheverus* (Philadelphia, 1839). 5. *Concanen*: O'Daniel, in the *Catholic Historical Review* (vol. i, pp. 400-421, vol. ii, pp. 19-46) has given an excellent biographical sketch of Bishop Concanen. 6. *Connolly*: An account of Bishop Connolly's life will be found in the *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, vol. iv (1891-1893), pp. 58-61, 186-198. 7. *Egan*: Griffin, *History of the Rt. Rev. Michael Egan, D.D., First Bishop of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1893). 8. *Du Bourg*: Biographical sketches will be found in Herbermann, *Sulpicians, etc.*, pp. 170-180, 199, 222-226, 231, and in the *Researches*, vol. x, pp. 144-152.

Corrigan's *Chronology of the Catholic Hierarchy of the United States*, which appeared in the *Catholic Historical Review*, is the first attempt at a systematic history of the American bishops. (For Carroll, see vol. i, p. 373.)

WORKS ON SPECIAL TOPICS

There is no necessity of giving here a detailed list of the special works used in these two volumes. Such a list would lengthen this critical essay beyond its proportionate limits. Among the books, however, to which special attention should be called, are the following: Van Tyne, *The Loyalists in the American Revolution* (New York, 1902); O'Brien, *Hidden Phase of American His-*

tory (New York, 1920); Fisher, *The Struggle for American Independence*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1908); Tiffany, *The History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America* (New York, 1895); Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History* (Boston, 1888); and Steiner, *The History of Education in Maryland* (Washington, D. C., 1894).

The history of Catholic education in the United States has been admirably treated in three volumes by the Rev. Dr. James Burns, C.S.C., of the University of Notre Dame. His *Catholic School System in the United States: Its Principles, Origin, and Establishment* (New York, 1908) brings the story of Catholic education down to the year 1840. For the educational institutions abroad, to which American boys and girls were sent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, cf. Guilday, *English Catholic Refugees on the Continent* (London, 1914). For the English background to our colonial church history, the best account has been given by Burton, in his *Life and Times of Bishop Challoner* (2 vols., London, 1909). Madden, *History of the Penal Laws Enacted Against Roman Catholics* (London, 1847), is a good introduction to the No Popery legislation of the American Colonies.

HISTORICAL PERIODICALS

Chief among these is the *Catholic Historical Review*, published at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., which from 1915 to 1921 was devoted exclusively to American church history. The provincial historical reviews were of considerable service, and reference has already been made to the Catholic historical quarterlies published at Philadelphia, New York, Chicago and St. Louis. Among the older magazines, now suspended, which contain valuable first-hand materials for the period are: the *United States Catholic Magazine* (1844-1849), the *United States Catholic Historical Magazine* (1888-1892), and the *United States Catholic Miscellany* (1822-1861). The *Annals* of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith (Paris-Lyons, 1822), and the *Berichte* of the Leopoldine Association (Vienna, 1830), also contain in their earliest issues valuable contemporary records. The *Ecclesiastical Review* is an indispensable source for the American Church historian.

WRITINGS OF ARCHBISHOP CARROLL

First among these should be classed Carroll's theological and philosophical tracts and essays, still in manuscript and preserved in the Georgetown College Archives. These are noticed by Sumner in the *Woodstock Letters*, vol. vii, p. 6 (April, 1878). Carroll's *Journal* of the European tour of 1771-1773 is printed in Brent's *Biographical Sketch*, pp. 223-276. It is discussed in vol. i, chapter iii, of this work. Shea (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 35, 43) erroneously credits to Carroll the *Narrative of the Proceedings in the Suppression of the Two English Colleges at Bruges*, which may be the work of Father Ralph Hoskins, S.J., who was born in Maryland in 1729, and died in England in 1794. Shea also claims authorship for Carroll of the *Account of the Condition of the Church in the United States*, which Pise first published in the *Metropolitan* for 1831. There is in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives in Carroll's handwriting a draft of the reply he was preparing against Father Smyth's *Present State, etc.* This has been printed in the *Researches* (vol. xiii, pp. 205-212); it is mentioned in the *Woodstock Letters*, vol. xv, p. 99. Shea mentions (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 204 note) a *Sketch of Catholicity in the United States*, written by Carroll. This is the manuscript published by Dr. Pise. Carroll's only real literary composition is his *Address to the Roman Catholics of the United States*, published at Annapolis, 1784, in reply to the apostate Wharton. The *Report and Letter* (1785) to Antonelli, mentioned in these papers, are lengthy enough to form a compact sketch of the history of the Church in this country at that date. They were first published in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. vi, pp. 239-246 (cf. Guillard, *Appointment of Father John Carroll as Prefect-Apostolic*, *ibid.*, pp. 204-248), and are reproduced in the original Latin in this work. Plowden's, *Short Account of the Establishment of the New See of Baltimore* (London, 1790) had the benefit of Carroll's corrections. It was republished in the *Researches* (vol. x, pp. 19-24). It is not certain whether Carroll wrote the *Address from the Roman Catholics of America to George Washington*, to which his name is attached. Carroll's biographical sketch of Father Beeston in Kingston's, *New American*

Biographic Dictionary, pp. 40-41 (Baltimore, 1810), is the only specimen of this class of essay we have from his pen. Among Carroll's Pastorals may be mentioned: The Pastoral on the Synod (1792), the first document of its kind in the United States; the Pastoral to the Congregation of Holy Trinity Church, Philadelphia (1797); the Lenten Pastoral of 1798; the Pastoral on the Yellow Fever Plague (1800); the Charge to the Clergy on the Death of Washington (1799); the Pastoral on the Baltimore Cathedral (1803); the Pastoral on the Erection of the Suffragan Sees (1810); the Pastoral on the War of 1812; the Pastoral on the Liberation of Pius VII (1814); and the Pastoral on the Peace of 1815. Bishop Carroll's *Discourse on George Washington*, delivered at St. Peter's Pro-Cathedral, February 22, 1800, was ranked at that time as the most eloquent of all the tributes paid to the dead leader on that day of national mourning.

In order not to give undue length to this chapter no list is given here to the literature in general or to the special works dealing with the political history of the United States during this period. Citations will be found in the proper places of all the sources consulted, and the reader is again referred to Channing-Hart-Turner, *Guide to the Study and Reading of American History* (Boston, 1912).

Finis.

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